AN INTERPRETATION OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

LEO WIENER

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BY

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PREFACE

Russian literature has for some time concerned itself with the discovery of the philosophical tendencies in the national life, but in the English language no such comprehensive work exists. The author of the present work does not pretend to give a complete account of the separate activities discussed in it, but confines himself to the ascertainment of those spiritual principles which alone can help the reader to comprehend and properly weigh the curious and frequently unique phenomena in the social and artistic life of Russia. The author has drawn his information not only from his own intimate acquaintance with the country of his birth and education, but also from the great store of special monographs accessible to the Russian scholar. He has attempted, without bias or rancor, to present all the sides of the national existence and to moderate the Russian spirit of self-abasement in the light of Anglo-Saxon objectivity and fairness.

A few words about the spelling of Russian names adopted in the following pages. It is the same as that employed in the author's translation of the works of Tolstoy, and is based on the precise

rendering of the Russian form, hence the ending *ov* instead of the senseless *off* indulged in by some writers. No attempt is made to give the Russian feminine forms of names, which would only be confusing to an English reader. Hence the title of Tolstoy's work is given as *Anna Karenin,* and not as *Anna Karenina.* The latter is as useless as it would be to mention Madame Tolstoy as Tolstaya.

THE AUTHOR

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	Introduction	1
II	The Currents of Ancient Russian Life	18
III	The National Ideals of Russian Literature	39
IV	Art for Life's Sake in Russia	68
V	Russian Music, an Expression of a People	95
VI	The Essence of Russian Religion	116
VII	The Intellectuals and the People	142
VIII	The Peasant	178
IX	The Position and Influence of Women in Russia	199
X	The Non-Russian Russians	220
XI	Bibliography	239

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I

INTRODUCTION

SEVERAL years ago I asked Professor Milyukov, the distinguished historian of Russian civilization, what English book he considered the best as regards its analysis of modern Russia. Without a moment's hesitation, and with a twinkle in his eye, he answered: "E. J. Dillon's *Russian Characteristics.*" [1]

The reply betrayed a distinct Russian attitude towards censure, for a more incisive condemnation of everything Russian could hardly be imagined, and any one other than a Russian would have blushed with shame and burned with indignation at the very mention of that brilliant Irishman's mordant attack upon his nation. But Milyukov does not stand alone in his conviction, for although Dillon is known to Russian society and to the Government as the author of those sketches, he continues to live in Petrograd as an honored

[1] E. B. Lanin (pseudonym of E. J. Dillon), *Russian Characteristics*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1892.

man and perfectly secure in his Avestan studies. It is a sad fact that there is not a statement made in that book that can be gainsaid, not an accusation that is not true in itself, and yet the whole work fails to give a real insight into the Russian soul, because the likeness is too photographic to be just, too much based on the striking vices to represent the imperceptible and all-pervading virtues. The author has written as a flagellant Russian for flagellant compatriots, and nobody knows that better than he himself, for he specifically says in the preface that his aim was to reach the Russian Government. "My aim, as affecting the Russian people, was twofold: on the one hand, to direct the attention of the Government to the miserable lot of the peasantry, in the hope of obtaining for them some moderate measure of relief; and on the other, to show that the people, improvident, shiftless, superstitious and immoral though they appear from our lofty English point of view, are yet not undeserving of a certain subdued admiration for having steered clear of still greater abysses in which almost every other people in like circumstances would probably have been swallowed up. And in neither of these respects, I am pleased to think, have my efforts been wholly thrown away. The articles, which to my own knowledge were carefully read by the highest dignitaries of the Empire, were in due time followed by a few slight improvements."

Dillon is absolutely right when he lays the blame for the demoralization of the Russian people, which finds its expression in fatalism, improvidence, dishonesty, sexual immorality, lying, and drunkenness, on the blighting influence of a Government of absolutism, arbitrariness, and excessive paternalism. But there are also Russian historians who, recognizing the low standards of the Government and the nation, are at a loss to determine whether the nation has a Government that it deserves, or whether the latter is to be considered the cause of the nation's moral degradation. The moment we try to get at cause and effect in this matter, we start a vicious circle from which there is no issue. Dillon is right, not in locating the source of the evil, but in recognizing the fact that the Government is failing in its duty to enlighten the masses and to bring out what there is confessedly good in them, a duty made the more easy because the people are ready blindly to follow the behests of authority.

However, when Dillon arrays an enormous quantity of well-attested facts in proof of the low condition of the people's character, he unwittingly becomes guilty of an illogical conclusion, even because he quotes exclusively from Russian periodical and literary sources. His thesis being that all Russians are liars and immoral, what truth can there be found among writers who are by him represented as possessed of the same easy morals?

Is it not rather a fact that Russians gloat over the recitals of their shortcomings and make their foibles and sins "visible," while other nations, not more impeccable, hide their weaknesses under a cloak of sanctimonious proprieties?

A German professor has characterized the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in Western Europe as a period when people did not wash themselves any too much but perfumed themselves abundantly. It is precisely this difference between the East and the West in Europe. The Russians have never taken seriously to wigs, powderboxes, and paint, hence their bodily uncouthness and uncleanliness was as much a subject of ridicule and contempt to the Western writers of those days as their moral iniquities are exaggerated to-day, on the basis of the Russians' own statements. This, indeed, may be proved by many specific instances.

Nowhere is there supposed to be so much drunkenness as in Russia, but the fact is that nowhere is so much drunkenness "seen" as in that country, for, if statistics be consulted, it is soon found that there is four times as much pure alcohol consumed per head in England, and nearly six times as much in France, as in Russia, and the present wholesale abstinence from intoxicants, even though it should not prove to be permanent, is a phenomenon totally unthinkable and unobtainable in any other country,—a *prima facie* evidence that

a drunken Russian must be judged differently from an ale-drinking Englishman, absinthe-tippling Frenchman, or beer-logged German. Yet England, France, and Germany are supposed to represent a higher degree of culture than benighted Russia. The difference is merely this: in Russia the drunken peasant wallows in the gutter, while elsewhere the tongue is unloosened in snug ale-houses, smoke-filled rathskellers, and sumptuous cabarets, not only under the influence of liquor, but also of salacious songs and "soul-stirring" music. In Russia drunkenness is drunkenness pure and simple, an abhorrence to native and foreigner alike.

Much is made of Russian dishonesty in commercial, political, and social life. Already the Hanseatic League found it hard to deal with the cheating Russians, and the newspapers are full of accounts of common transgressions, such as would not be thinkable in Germany, England, or the United States. But commerical honesty is the *sine qua non* of nations with a strongly developed industrial system, and grows with international relations. The student of medieval economics knows only too well that the Hanseatic cities and industrial centers in the Lowlands were given to far more objectionable practises than what they described in the Eastern staples. They had constantly to legislate against the use of inferior materials in the manufacture of cloth, and false

labels and imitations were an art of which the simple-minded Russians were totally ignorant. But it is significant that the Russian word for "fool" is derived from an inferior woolen cloth which was foisted upon them by those very Lowlanders who accused them of false weights and impure wool.

The long recital of illegal transactions, winked at by public opinion in Russia, is a tame affair as compared with the gigantic swindles of the Western commercial world. The huge South Sea Bubble has not yet passed from the memory of man. But lately a Danish statesman rifled the state's treasury in order to cover up a series of most questionable business ventures, and the titanic iniquities of several of America's most important industries have been sufficiently ventilated in the courts and in the press not to need especial mention. As in Russia, so in the West, the maxim of the Minister of State, as expressed in his instruction to his son, still holds, "My son, you must be honest, but if you steal, see to it that you do not get caught." It is here where the superiority of Western civilization over that of Russia is most apparent. The Westerner has had too much training, and has too much respect for the law, to show dishonesty in little matters, and where it does not pay handsomely in returns. He consults the law before committing the crime, and he generally manages to keep "within the law."

The Russian who is obsessed by similar criminal tendencies goes about his business in a coarse and vulgar way. He does not cover his tracks long, and he is stupid enough to cheat in small and insignificant matters. If foreigners get worsted by such Russians, they must not forget that "caveat emptor" was not discovered by a Russian legislator, and that there is many an artistic commercial trick that the Russian may learn from Sam Slick and from our own American David Harum.

Then there is that universal political dishonesty. But where has the Government not been considered a milch cow, to be regularly and thoroughly milked, in order to keep its udder from bursting? England has but lately had some sad revelations, and Germany has had its Krupp scandal, and what are we to say of our own American elastic political conscience? The exercise of the democratic right of suffrage has not led to unconditional honesty, and an American investigator has shown that the average price of a vote in certain States is now $2.50, and that with triumphant universal suffrage votes may become even cheaper. Nor is there anything in the institution of Rings and Bosses that stands in the odor of sanctity. Our municipal governments, the police, the public works, are honey-combed with foul political corruption, but while Anglo-Saxons have occasional fits of moral indignation, after which they fall into a state of quiescence, the Russians,

even those who commit the crimes, do not deceive themselves as to the immoral question involved and as readily proclaim shortcomings as they tolerate them, and as readily confess their guilt as they break the law. Dillon observes that in a given number of criminal prosecutions in court all those who were not caught *flagrante delicto* hastened to make a clean breast of their crimes before the judges. Instead of arguing from this an easy conscience in the Russians, one should rather come to the opposite conclusion and posit a moral induration in the West. Here again it is a question of "visibility." The criminal instincts are more obvious, not more serious, in Russia than elsewhere.

Again quoting sources, Dillon proves that the sexual morality is at very low ebb in Russia. The ancient chroniclers and historians tell of unmentionable sexual laxness, and the modern Russian writers lay open the national sores with the same frankness, hence, he argues, the condition of this kind of morality is worse here than anywhere else. As for antiquity, one must not forget the incredible degradation of the Medieval Church, nor does one gain any respect for that period in the West from the works of Boccaccio, Rabelais, Casanova, and dozens of similar authors. Were one to write a history of morals from Rousseau's *Confessions* or Paul de Kock's novels, or from Zola's *La Terre,* or were one to depict the

condition of society from the pornography that is forced into strangers' hands in Palermo, what a hell one could reconstruct for Western morals in the not very distant past. Krafft-Ebing did not have to go to Russia to write his work on moral degeneration. Paris, Berlin, Munich, Vienna have still many a lesson to teach Russia in this direction, and the alarming figure of 115,000 illegitimate children in one year in Russia is insignificant as compared with the 30% of illegitimate children from the whole number born in certain districts in Saxony and with the almost equally great proportion in Munich. But while in Russia the stigma of the parents is not transferred upon the children, the Munich papers last year gravely discussed the impropriety of omitting the word "illegitimate" from the certificate of birth, lest the future mate in marriage be deceived by the false status of the unfortunate victim. This is morality with a vengeance, while the Russian immorality has at least the merit of Christian charity.

Thus, however correct every individual statement is in regard to Russia, the fact that they are all drawn from Russian sources militates against a just picture of the modern Russian, if it is intended for the Anglo-Saxon reader. The unreserved frankness of the Slav may have its beneficent effect at home, but needs a corrective before it can be safely used by an outsider. Hence,

while Dillon's work is a classic in Russia, and greatly appreciated there, because it reflects the native spirit of self-castigation, it is not a safe guide by which to diagnose the present and predict the future of the great and gifted Russian people, the latest in Europe to carry high the banner of modern civilization. Equally unreliable are the accounts of those facile writers who on the basis of a passing acquaintance with Russians in the diaspora, over cigarettes and the samovar, without access to native sources, have relegated the Indo-European Russians to Asia and the Mongol races. If Dillon's analysis of the Russian character may be compared with a prism that disperses and breaks up the light, the acrid delineation of the Russian by its perfervid enemies resembles that distorting mirror, which represents one's own form with swollen body and diminutive head.

How, then, is one to arrive at the essence of the Russian soul? How is one to determine its potentiality, independently from personal opinion or predilection and from the vicissitudes of history? This is not so difficult as may seem, if one is willing to investigate the sum total of facts within the whole period of the nation's existence, if one can abstract those transient characteristics of civilization and culture, of morality and religion, of material acquisitions and historic destiny, which vary from time to time and only touch

the externals of things. There would not seem much to be left, when all these things, that we are taught to consider as fundamental in our estimate of the relative position of a people in civilization, are brushed aside. But there is everything left,—the underlying soul, in which civilization, culture, religion, morality find a firm lodging or fail to get a congenial soil for development.

Take the case of the Irish. Before the introduction of Christianity the Celts did not even possess the idea of family. There was promiscuity of the most extensive and to us revolting kind. They lived in utter wretchedness amidst their pigs, and, though they had bards who reveled in boastful oratory, they did not possess any learning, nor did they stand in any relation to the existing Roman civilization. Yet the Celts were the first nation in Europe to adopt Christianity, and not only did their morality improve at once, but the Irish women have had a reputation for virtue such as no other women could surpass, while their learned men became the founders of monasteries throughout Europe, at a time when the Germans and Slavs were still half-savage and uncultured. Such a complete transformation cannot be accounted for by a mere influence of the new religion. There must have been a latent potential energy, even in the savage Irishman, which needed only a new impetus to bring the best in his nature to the front. The

Celtic fire, for good or for ill, was aglow from the earliest time, and the change in morals, learning, and material comfort, the trend of the new civilization, did not in any way affect his fundamental nature.

It is a curious fact that geography is a more potent factor in preserving basic characteristics, than is nationality or race. Unless a whole people, or the major part of a people is exterminated, no accretion of foreign elements, especially by slow infiltration, affects the original stock materially. France, from the time of Cæsar until the present, has undergone most violent changes. The native Gaulic populace has been successively contaminated by Roman, Gothic, Frankish, Spanish blood, but the characterization of the Gauls by Cæsar is essentially correct of the French of today. "The nature of the people is such, that rash and inexperienced men, alarmed by false reports, are often hurried to the greatest extremities, and take upon them to determine in matters of the greatest consequence." Here is an analysis which holds throughout French history, from the time of Druidism with its superstition up to the Revolution with its guillotines. Cæsar also recognized the fact that the proximity of the Roman province to Gaul had introduced luxury and abundance among them, which little by little deprived them of the warlike spirit, so that they were no longer able to cope with the Germans. The Greek

Agathias found the Franks in the Sixth Century the only ones among the Germanic tribes semi-civilized and completely absorbed by the Romano-Gaulic population in language and institutions. The conquerors were conquered by the geographic factor.

On the other hand Cæsar's description of the Germans of his day is, *mutatis mutandis,* true of the modern Prussians. He writes: "Their whole life is addicted to hunting and war, and from their infancy they are inured to fatigue and hardships," "They think it an argument of valor to expel their neighbors, and suffer none to settle near them," "Robbery has nothing infamous in it, when committed without the territories of the state to which they belong: they even pretend that it serves to exercise their youth and prevent the growth of sloth. When any of their princes in this case offers himself publicly in council as a leader, such as approve of the expedition, rise up, profess themselves ready to follow him, and are applauded by the whole multitude." Do not these statements explain better than any White Books or writings of Bernhardi, Treitschke, Hasse, the reasons which actuate the Germans in the present, as well as any other, war? And here is a curious fact. The Prussians, admittedly the creators of universal conscription and the modern armies, are not even particularly German in blood. They are a nondescript mixture of Lithuanian and

Slavic elements with a numerically inferior German contingent. But the annihilation of the foreign element has been carried on so thoroughly by the resistless invader into the peripheral country, that the slow infiltration of the surviving native element has added nothing material to the formation of character, while the geographic expansion of the original German element has been so complete that Prussia has best preserved the original spirit, as admirably depicted by the great Roman general. The Prussians know full well the importances of the geographic factor, and so they still practise the method of thorough elimination of the native element, as in Slesvick-Holstein, so in Posen, and they frankly and without a blush still preach and insist on peripheral colonization.

Neither the organization of the state, nor the Christian religion, nor the highest development of the sciences and the arts, has in the least obliterated the Celtic and the German soul. How much more must this be the case with the Russians who have suffered more than any other European nation from the geographic factor, who have been so far removed from the foci of civilization that Greek and Roman culture and the activities of the Medieval West have but faintly and at a very belated time penetrated the country, never affecting the masses deeply and leaving them to their elemental forces? Here paganism and barbarism have survived until our own day, strangely

mingling with the highest achievements of the human mind. Meekness and brutality, communism and the most advanced individualism, the strongest state and the weakest political consciousness, absence of race hatred and the most cruel "pogroms," the deepest religious nature and the most abject superstition, an all-pervading democracy and the most absolute monarchy, all these and more contradictions are the result of this unique jostling of mythical antiquity and stark reality,—an eternal and inextricable enigma to the Western observer. Hence the totally contradictory valuations which are found in books on Russia, on the basis of the same data.

Dillon has summarized these inherent contradictions as follows: "By nature the Russians are richly endowed: a keen, subtle understanding; remarkable quickness of apprehension; a sweet, forgiving temper; an inexhaustible flow of animal spirits; a rude, persuasive eloquence, to which may be added an imitative faculty positively simian in range and intensity, constitute no mean outfit even for a people with the highest destinies in store. But these gifts, destined to bring forth abundant fruit under favorable circumstances, are turned into curses by political, social, and religious conditions which make their free exercise and development impossible, and render their possessors as impersonal as the Egyptians that raised Cheops, or the coral-reef builders of the Pacific.

In result we have a good-natured, lying, thieving, patient, shiftless, ignorant mass whom one is at times tempted to connect in the same isocultural line with the Weddas of India, or the Bangala of Upper Congo, and who differ from the West European nations much as Sir Thomas Browne's vegetating 'creatures of mere existence' differ from 'things of life.' "

Assuming, for the sake of argument, that the characterization is just, there still remains the task to ascertain, how many of the characteristics are acquired and transient, how many of the vices are inherent and irradicable, or accidental and reducible. The observer of the growth of Slavic as against Germanic civilization is not so much concerned about the present relative standings of the average Russian and the average German, as he is troubled about the promise of a better future, the chances for development being equal in both cases. But the modern material civilization is that great equalizer, which breaks down barriers between races and nations, and leaves them entirely to the resources of their inner selves, to the inherent qualities and not at all to their historic vicissitudes. In this new race for supremacy, the Japanese and the Bulgarians, the Boers and the Maori have an equal chance. Not that they will all reach the same perfection, but their historic development does not count against them. Chinese walls and Krupp guns are incompatible,

and the change from junks, arrows and ring armor to super-dreadnoughts, from bamboo huts to sky-scrapers, from forest paths to railway tracks, from scythes to steam reapers, from pen and ink to linotypes and typewriters, from native popular wisdom to Kant and Darwin, is as the flash of an electric spark.

What Germany or Russia is not to-day it may be to-morrow. Fortunate and unfortunate as the geographical position of Russia is, it will no longer be the geographic factor that will determine its future destiny, but that which the geographic factor has created for it in the past,—the Russian soul, its potentiality, its rich endowment. It is this we must study and appreciate, in order that we may safely prognosticate the future of Russia, without any reference to this or any other war, without personal bias of friendship or hatred, without the possible economic and political factors, which can only retard or accelerate, but never can change the course of its destiny, for the woe or for the ill of humanity at large. To arrive at such a sublimated judgment we must investigate the sum total of Russian life during the whole period of its historic existence, and constantly eliminate the accidental from the permanent, until the resulting identity of moving forces throughout the whole history of the nation gives us a basis for final deductions.

II

THE CURRENTS OF ANCIENT RUSSIAN LIFE

NO country in Europe has been so fortunate in its geographical position as Germany, a position which destined it to become the leader in the progress of civilization. Most of its rivers flow due north, and the navigable heads of these rivers are not far removed from the passes over the Alps and from the great commercial highway that went into a northwesterly direction from Constantinople to the region on the Rhine. In the days before the space and time destroying agents, of modern invention, neighborhood played an all-important part in the advance of cultural ideas, for there is no such a thing as a development from within, except in a very limited and unsatisfactory manner. Civilization has in pre-historic times moved from Central Asia by radiation, and Europe first fell under the influence of a Mediterranean and Egyptian development. Traces of Egyptian industrial borrowings may still be discovered in the farthest countries of Europe, but the nearest radiation, into Greece, was most pro-

ductive of significant consequences. Evolving its composite borrowed material from Asia Minor and Crete and Egypt in the direction of its growing national genius, Greece became the next, most important focus for European civilization, until the center was transferred to Rome, Greece adding its rich endowment to the constructive power of the Romans.

Even before Cæsar expanded the Roman territory to the *ultima Thule,* merchants had reached and influenced the nearer living Gauls, while, as Cæsar himself distinctly mentions, the farther, inaccessible regions of the Germans harbored in consequence a more savage population. The military exploits in the North, and the excellent military roads and posts maintained by the conquerors brought the Teutons into direct contact with Rome. Being warlike, and unspoiled by civilization, they were especially adapted for mercenaries in the Roman armies, and, their warlike appetites being whetted by this military preference, they soon overran the Empire and became its masters. But the superior Latin element swallowed and dissolved the Goths, Suevians, and Franks, while the Saxons and Thuringians, who preserved their brutish life until a comparatively late period, on account of the remoteness of their territories, were civilized only in Carolingian times by radiations from France. Germany was still in a semi-savage stage in the Ninth Century and would not

have fared better than Russia in the fifteenth had it not been for the fact that the dissolution of the political and social life threatening the West and the eternal feuds and attacks by robber-barons had led to the growth and development of the cities. These had again their origin in the South. It was in the south of Italy that the well-organized Byzantine municipal government found its footing. From there it spread northward to Venice, Florence, and the cities of Lombardy. Through the passes of the Alps, the city entity spread to Freiburg and to Constance, which became models for the cities along the Rhine. Then these in turn, especially Strassburg, formed the basis for the municipal organization in the East, until Magdeburg represented the last German stronghold of the nascent burgher conscience. Poland, the neighbor, based its feeble town government on the Magdeburg right, inviting Germans and German Jews to settle there, as the agricultural Poles had little interest in and little need of the political factor of the cities.

It is not unlikely that some Slavs were found in the conglomerate armies of the Romans, and it is certain that they were unwilling soldiers in the hosts of the Huns and Avars who overran Europe. All the early historians agree that the Slavs who lived in the vast plains of what now constitutes Russia were a peaceful people, given to the chase and primitive agriculture, without any ad-

hesion among themselves, and without any desire or need for an organized state. But the country was not entirely separated from the rest of the world. We have several accounts by Arabic writers, from which it may be seen that that country as early as the Ninth Century, and possibly much earlier, was of extreme importance to the West, for a large variety of raw products were obtained from there, squirrel, sable and bear skins, honey and flax, and other objects that could be produced by the simplest kind of agriculture or the industry of the trapper. In return, the Russians received cheap manufactured goods, such as colored kerchiefs, specifically mentioned in Byzantine commercial language as "Slavic," and a variety of coarse stuffs, all of them bearing foreign names, the very term for "cloth" being of Greek origin.

The nearest and most important emporium for the East was Constantinople, and whatever cultural influence was to be exerted upon the northern Slavs proceeded from there. But the Scandinavians had discovered the easier route thither by means of the rivers that in the West flow north and south, almost meeting at their heads, and the meek and disunited Slavs offering no insurmountable difficulties, a steady stream of Scandinavian merchant adventurers passed over their territory, in quest of spices and silks at the Byzantine distributing center.

The Russian chronicler of the Twelfth Century, in characterizing the Russians as meek, feeble and disunited, says that the Slavs of the plains sent a delegation to the Scandinavians asking them to give them rulers over their country, because "Our country is large, but order there is none in it." Here we have the first expression of Russian self-abnegation, but in reality the Scandinavians, settling in the staples along the road to Constantinople, in Novgorod and Kiev, by sheer power of wealth and commercial influence, ended in becoming their rulers. Kiev remained for a long time under the domination of the Greek spirit, while Novgorod was sought out by the enterprising Lowlanders and later by the members of the Hanseatic cities. But, although here and there a semblance of Western municipalities may be found, they nearly all owed their importance and existence to foreigners and hardly affected the now inherent agricultural habits of the nation at large. Even when at the end of the Fifteenth Century the "gatherers of the land," the Muscovite princes, were anxious to develop city life in accordance with Western models, they were obliged to settle the invited foreigners in a special part of Moscow, "the German Quarter," because the Russian town offered neither the necessary advantages nor that safety without which commerce could not flourish.

The student of medieval economics gets in Russia some startling surprises. In the Seven-

teenth Century he not only finds there in vogue contracts between proprietors and tenants, such as were common in the West in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries, but the very wording of them shows that the first is directly based on the second. Russia has not been able to escape the very legal form of the economic conditions which prevailed in the rest of Europe, but the process was arrested for several centuries, so that one can get a fairly good idea of what France or Germany was in the Eighth or Ninth Century by studying the rich documentary and historical nearer past in Russia. It was only in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries that the peasant was by legislation tied to the glebe, whereas this evolution, or rather devolution, had been accomplished elsewhere in the Thirteenth Century. So, while on the one hand the agriculturist in Russia was in a more primitive state as regards his material existence, he retained a rude kind of liberty for a much longer time than in Spain, France, or Germany. The old freedom of agricultural domicile and labor and the new democracy meet here more immediately than anywhere in Europe.

When the agricultural slavery was aggravated by the growing military oppression, many of the peasants, still conscious of their human rights, escaped into the outlying districts of the Empire, beyond the reach of the Government, and there established crude republics, now obliged to defend

their liberties in constant wars against Tartars, Nogais, Turks, and Caucasian mountaineers. These advance posts of Russian civilization, the Cossacks, have done immeasurable service to the state, and, though now entirely incorporated into the military institution and, in spite of their blind adherence to the throne, represent a rough and fundamental democracy, of which many peasants in Russia are still capable, if the opportunity is once given to them.

If the extreme distance from Rome is the cause of the economic backwardness of Russia throughout the Middle Ages, the same distance has had even more disastrous results in matters religious and educational. The centralization of the Catholic Church, with its universal use of the Latin language for religious and educational purposes, has been a great benefit to medieval learning and the formation of upper class morality. In the first centuries of its existence Christianity exerted only a superficial influence on the masses. The Latin language was inaccessible to them, and after the patristic period the Catholic theology, up to the time of Charlemagne, with rare exceptions busied itself only with external things, with ritual observances rather than with the spirit of religion. During that period it is extremely doubtful if the people at large led more than a vegetative Christian existence. Paganism and Christianity jostled one another, and the *Indiculus Superstí-*

tionum, still current in the Tenth Century, shows that the new religion had not penetrated much under the skin. But the clergy being compelled to learn a new language, one that forever separated them from the people, were drawn into a closer union with the Catholic clergy throughout Europe, and so had at least the chance to exchange ideas with a more or less educated class throughout Catholic Christendom. Not even the clergy may be held to have been thoroughly Christian during the Middle Ages, and there is not a lapse into paganism of which they have not been guilty at one time or another. But they were always in possession of Latin learning, and the monasteries not only attracted these who wished to lead a contemplative life, away from the temptations of the world, but also became the seminaries of culture and art.

Until the Ninth Century the masses gleaned from the new religion only so much as the priests imparted to them in sermons and in private exhortations. Charlemagne in 813 wisely suggested that homilies should be written in the native tongue, a practise that became universal only at a much later time. The later Middle Ages are, from a religious standpoint, significant in that the masses are trying to appropriate for themselves that religion which before had been held in custody by the Church. That is the meaning of the Reformation. This struggle goes hand in

hand with the growth of the national consciousness and the development of the native languages, as against the Latin of the Church. The common language had been useful before in uniting the Christians; now the national languages made it possible for the masses to grasp and interpret the tenets of the New Testament for themselves. The process of christianization has been an extremely slow one in the West, and in many instances it is still very far from being thorough. In international affairs, in criminology, in philanthropy it is still the pagan code of morals that is active, even though God and Christ are invoked as witnesses and protectors.

Rome was too far away to Christianize Russia. This task was left to Byzantium in the Tenth Century. Individual conversions had sporadically taken place before, but it was only in 988 that Russia became officially Christian. The Greek Church permitted the Gospel to be preached in any other than the Greek tongue, and all the Slavs that received their religion from Constantinople heard the Bible read in Bulgarian, which at the time differed but very little from the spoken Slavic dialects in the North. Thus the newly converted Russians were at once placed in entirely different relations to the Church than the nations of the West had been. While the masses could approximately make out, if not the inner meaning of the religious precepts, at least the definite injunc-

tions, the clergy were at a great disadvantage, for they neither had the vivifying influence of priests and monks better trained than they in a native religious literature, nor was there any direct need for them to apply themselves to the study of Greek theology. The people merely added to their pagan beliefs a mass of Christian observances, while the clergy, who had to be recruited from these same people, found nowhere a corrective for their distorted views. Indeed, with the exception of the highest members of the ecclesiastic hierarchy, who up to the Tartar invasion were almost exclusively drawn from among the Greeks, the lower clergy and the monks frequently could neither read nor write and had to be taught the performance of their duties in a perfunctory manner. Of course, there were memorable exceptions, where the monasteries produced scholars and writers of considerable merit. This was noticeably the case with the religious institutions of Kiev, because here the scholastic learning of Catholic Poland could not entirely be excluded. But on the whole it may be asserted that the clergy did not stand higher than their flocks. On the contrary, since they wielded a considerable power, which, in the Sixteenth Century, was increased through a greater union of church and state, they frequently deteriorated even more than the masses and were decidedly worse than they.

Of the paganism preceding Christianity in

Russia we know exceedingly little. It seems certain, however, that it was more a loose aggregation of superstitious beliefs, such as a simple agricultural people may have formed out of its contact with nature, than a well-developed mythology with objectionable or immoral practises. The esoteric meaning of the Christian religion was not accessible to them, but the physical retribution for transgressions appealed greatly to their primitive imagination, and they vied with one another in fasting, long and exhausting prayers, mortification of the flesh and protracted pilgrimages. From these facts Russian historians and theologians conclude that the condition of Christianity was infinitely lower in Russia than in the West. This is true only to a certain degree, for it cannot be said that the Western conception of religion was more spiritual. It was frequently more scholastic, on the part of the clergy, but it was hardly more sincere, even if less primitive, on the part of the masses.

The Russian religious fervor compares favorably with that of the Egyptian Thebaid,—and the Copts were neither savage nor uncultured. If the Western monks did not emulate the macerations of Simeon Stylites and similar anchorites, the cause was not due to any higher conception of religion. As Lecky has aptly said, "The Western monks, from the condition of their climate, were constitutionally incapable of rivaling the absti-

nence of the Egyptian anchorites; but their conception of supreme excellence was much the same, and they labored to compensate for their inferiority in penances by claiming some superiority in miracles.'' If such is the case, the exercise of penances in the rigorous Russian climate, not only by monks, but by the people at large, rather adds to than detracts from their religiousness. What has happened here is this: A simple, unreasoning faith, accompanied by austere practises and unaffected by theological speculations and philosophic deductions, has survived until modern times, while the West, more fortunate in its intellectual progress, has passed through interminable attempts to harmonize religion and science, losing in faith while gaining in material goods. It is not a question whether the one or the other is better,—the undeniable fact is that faith was an important factor in the Russia of old, even, as we shall see later, it is a prime mover at the present time. Whatever the difference of the intellectual outfit of Tolstoy and of a Russian of the Middle Ages may be, and the difference is enormous, their essential faith is the same.

Though the masses were in a measure religious, they were thoroughly ignorant as regards book learning, because the monasteries could not furnish it, as they did in the West, and because there was no other means of obtaining an education. There existed, indeed, a not inconsiderable amount

of medieval literature in Russia, but it was exclusively in the service of the Church, even when of a secular nature. If there were laymen who could read, their reading was confined to ecclesiastic literature and to apocryphal stories, of which Russia has preserved an enormous number. While Western romantic stories, of the type of *Bevys of Hamptoun,* reached the East, only a small number could enjoy them, and their influence upon the masses was insignificant. Historians, both native and foreign, have ascribed this backwardness in education to the terrible ravages wrought by the Tartars, the destruction of the monasteries, and the brutalization of the masses. But the education after the invasion was not in any sense different from what it had been before, and there were no factors at work, especially in the Church, which made popular education a necessity, hence in the Fifteenth Century, and even much later, Russia was not farther advanced in book learning than the West had been in the Eighth Century.

The Russian historian Zabyelin very aptly typifies the Russian of the period before Peter the Great in the person of the *bogatyr,* the epic hero, whom he represents as trying with gigantic force and unbridled license to break the bonds imposed upon him by ages of paternal and cruel guardianship. The historian sees the whole trouble of ancient Russia in the establishment of the social unit, not in the individual, nor in the family, but

in the gens. Russian medieval society did not recognize the independent personality, but only the head of the gens, which was the family with the inclusion of all those persons, both related and unrelated, who were considered as minors and without rights in respect to the State. The economic conditions of agriculture made a subdivision of a paternal estate undesirable, and so the estate, or, to use somewhat loosely the Roman term, the gens, was the representative unit, within which ruled arbitrary power, tempered only by such restraint as religion could force upon it. In relation to the head, "the master," all the members of the gens, wife and children, relatives and servants, were minors, without a personal will, and blindly subject to his command. In modern society personal liberty and property rights are secured by legal enactments and governmental protection, while in such a gens the same object was supposed to be obtained by parental wardship.

Here we have again that arrested growth, which was characteristic of Western society in Visigothic and Merovingian times. There, too, the State, in apportioning land to the colonists, did not deal with individuals, nor with families, but with the gens, and undivided estates are of constant mention in the early history of Italy, France, and Spain. Nor was this the result of barbarous, Germanic conditions, but a direct development of

a prevailing Roman institution. Here Russia of the Middle Ages once more touches the classic times. One example will fully illustrate it. The estates in Russia received their names from the gens that held them, by attaching the suffix *ichi,* to indicate the fact. But this is identical with the Visigothic custom, in colonization, to form the name of such a gentile estate by means of the suffix *ano,* which in its turn is a borrowing of the same Roman habit, where villages were named by means of the ending *anus.*

This system of the gentile organization was universal in the Russian state. Governmentally the whole of Russia was an undivided estate of the family of Rurik, in which the separate provinces and cities were only temporarily held by the minor princes, the elder prince always sitting in Kiev. This constant transposition of the rulers, upon the death of the Grand Prince of Kiev, made it impossible for the development of a feudal system, such as existed in France. The unity of Russia, in spite of the eternal quarrels of the dissatisfied appanages, was distinctly felt by the masses, and as early as the Twelfth Century a Russian priest at Jerusalem offered prayers for "all of Russia." When the increasing family of Rurik produced an endless number of subdivisions and the city of Kiev no longer could maintain its superiority, the appanages slowly fell into disuse, and the strong Muscovite princes had no difficulty in "gathering

in'' the lands, because the people at large had always recognized the unity of the Russian Empire. If Russia had always been one in the national spirit, it now became one in fact as well.

The people, like the family in the private estate, was the ward of the Tsar, and liberties were obtained, not by constitutional prerogatives, but by the grace of the ''father.'' The Tsar could punish severely, or he could be ''merciful.'' In any case he exercised his *patria potestas.* When Ivan the Terrible massacred and reduced the upper nobility who showed some signs of independence, the nation did not interfere, but still looked up to the Tsar, who wisely favored the masses against the upper classes. His cruelty, appalling as it was, cannot in any sense be ascribed to the condition of Russian political life, but only to the spirit of the time, which was not more favorable in England, under Henry the Eighth, or in Italy, under the Borgias. To the Russian people Ivan was still ''the father.'' The idea of Imperial guardianship was so deeply rooted in the masses, that whenever persecutions drove the people into rebellion, they only claimed to revolt against the illegal sovereign, choosing another, often a usurper, whom they represented as the genuine emperor, the one on the throne being claimed as a fraudulent substitution.

As in the State, so in the home. The will of the father was the determining factor in the existence

of the family. Without the head, the family fell to pieces and had no standing. The individual had no rights except such as were derived from the head of the household. We get an excellent idea of the home life of ancient Russia from the *Domostroy,* a Book of House Management, written in the Sixteenth Century. Here the sum total of worldly wisdom is discussed under five heads: "(1) How to believe; (2) How to honor the Tsar and all secular authority; (3) How to honor the clergy and all ecclesiastic authority; (4) How to live in peace, and (5) How to manage one's house." As may be expected from the concept of the household, this instruction is directed to the head of the gens, "the master." It is he who is to be responsible for the morals and the well-being of the house. Hence he must not only see to it that the servants and slaves under his care are brought up in the fear of God, but that the orphans and children under his guardianship are equally instructed in religion. In case of disobedience they are all to receive corporal punishment, from four to thirty strokes, the servants being punished but little more severely than the children. So, too, his wife is to teach her children and her slaves to do what is right.

His wife must teach her servants and her children to do what is right, with kindness and with severity: she must have no words, but should only strike. If the husband sees that things do not run

properly with his wife and his servants, he must instruct his wife with proper reasoning, and must love her and be kind to her, if she pays attention. If his wife does not live up to that instruction and does not teach her children, her husband should punish her and instil fear in private, and after the punishment he should treat her kindly. Similarly he should punish and give wounds to his servants and children, and, having punished them, treat them kindly. If the wife, or son, or daughter does not pay any heed to the instruction, nor show fear, nor does what husband, father, or mother teaches, then the whip is to be applied, according to the guilt. Let them not be punished before men, but in secret; and doing it, speak kindly and instruct them, and forgive them; never show your anger, neither wife to husband, nor husband to wife. And do not strike for any guilt on the ear, nor on the eye, nor with the fist upon the heart, nor with a kick, nor with the staff; nor with any iron, nor wooden thing: "he who strikes in anger or passion causes many woes, blindness and deafness, and breaks an arm or leg or finger; and causes headache and toothache; and injures internally pregnant women and children."

Crude and harsh as the injunction is, the Russian historians have greatly exaggerated the savagery of the *Domostroy* and of Russian home life. The Middle Ages were not gentle in the treatment of children, and "Spare the rod and spoil

the child'' is not only a Russian proverb. With usual readiness to see only the worst in the past, historians forget the humane side of the punishment in that rough and ignorant age. Not only is there to be no anger, no passion in the application of the rod, but the purpose of the castigation is improvement of the person so chastised. Wife, children and servants are equally subjected to this treatment. And it is right here that the Russian rude medievalism is superior, though more primitive, than the one in the West. The Russian household does not produce that vast difference between master and man that the West has worked out. All the members of the household are wards of the master, and even in the most cruel time of serfdom the abyss between master and man is not appalling. Severity and meekness, autocracy and democracy exist side by side,—an eternal enigma to the foreign observer.

The ideal of family life was blind, unreasoning obedience to the will of the master, while outside this relation to paternal authority, there was equality of all the members. For the weaker persons the master was a shield and a protection; for the stronger ones he was a source of arbitrary but reverend power. There was no escape from the tyranny except by leaving the household and the country. Thus the Cossack settlements arose, where brutal force, under the leadership of the

hetman, united with a broad democracy, both principles derived from the universal conception of the gens. Wherever the individual stepped out of the gens, he became at once a democratic freebooter. But the historian again errs in assuming that we have here an exceptional state of society. Wherever the individual in the early Middle Ages did not fit into the social organization, he joined some democratic roving band under the leadership of an all-powerful head. The most striking resemblance may be found in the exploits of Robin Hood and his boon companions. All that there has taken place in Russia is a perpetuation of the early medieval condition of society, without any evolution such as we observe in the West, and we shall see later that therein lie not only the faults of Russia, but also the germs of her modern democracy.

But the historian is quite correct in seeing in the bogatyr a personification of old Russia. The bogatyr gets tired of staying a minor for thirty years and playing with children. He is anxious to make use of his untried strength, and when he gets out into the open field he is terrible. He kills his father, if he gets into his way, and his exploits are all titanic. But outside of the exercise of his force, he protects the widows and orphans. He is self-willed, because he has remained a child too long and has not been allowed to de-

velop his personality. But, though he does valiant deeds of a man, he remains essentially a child.

Old Russia was that uncouth, ignorant, vigorous bogatyr, who meekly accepted the guardianship until his man's estate and, when he set out to free himself from tutelage, could only perform heroic deeds for others, alternating his philanthropy with acts of savagery, and never able himself to outgrow his childishness. Russia was full of physically healthy, mentally untouched, morally unspoiled children, but there was no hope that these children would ever reach maturity, for one century was like another, and there were no new factors growing up from within to change the condition of Russian society. The only hope lay in some great, historic bogatyr, a self-willed, childlike giant, and at the same time "a master," who by the union of the two natures would be able to accomplish that which the guardian "father" and the rebelling bogatyr could not perform separately. Such a personality was Peter the Great. With him begins a new Russia.

III

THE NATIONAL IDEALS OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE

WHEN Peter the Great broke with the tradition of the past there was not even a native Russian language in which to express the accumulating new ideas or to make an appeal to the people. The Church-Slavic was too far removed from the spoken idiom and ill-adapted for modern, progressive ideas. The Great Tsar laid his hands upon the old script and had it transformed so as to bring it in keeping with the Roman alphabet in use in the West. But he was powerless to dictate the norm for a literary language, for he was conscious that the spoken idiom was not better adapted for it than the mystic language of the Church. Yet the very use of the new, "civic" alphabet at once separated the incipient secular literature from the influence of the ecclesiastic writings, and within a century the spoken form was purified, normalized and perfected by the writings of Lomonosov, Derzhavin, Karamzin, and a host of minor authors, until it became one of the most pliable and perfect lan-

guages in Europe. Its vocabulary is far richer than either the German or English, and it is admirably fitted to represent the most delicate poetical, philosophic, and scientific shades of connotations. The last of the great literary languages of Europe to forge its way to the front, it is not surpassed by any in all the elements necessary to preserve for it an enduring place in history.

The Eighteenth Century was naturally an age of imitation for Russian literature. The French pseudo-classic influence was abroad, and even the more fortunately situated Germany had little to show that was not at that time coarsely borrowed from France. Frederic the Great boasted that he served his native literature most by leaving it alone and devoting himself strictly to the propagation of the French language. Yet, though French was universally spoken in the upper classes of Russian society, the native literature grew in popularity, and in the reign of Catherine the Great it became an important factor in shaping the political and social ideals of the nation. Catherine herself abandoned the French models and in her dramas showed the influence of the more direct and natural English school of writers, represented by Addison and Steele. Her example was emulated by the best Russian authors, and for some years there was a surfeit of periodicals in the style of the *Spectator* and the *Tattler*.

The influence of English thought did not, however, stop at mere external form. The very structure of the language in Karamzin's writings shows that his stay in England is responsible for the substitution of the simple, direct style for the older periodic structure, and Karamzin's example has been followed ever since.

The peculiar genius of the Russian people to bring its literature into direct relation to life and to abandon traditional canons may be discerned even at this early time. Literature was as yet the occupation of men in the service of the powerful and cultured, hence it found its expression mainly in flattery, in an endless series of turgid and soulless odes, mostly written by order. Yet Derzhavin, the most talented of the poets, sought the favor of the Empress by his *Ode to Felitsa,* which set the literary canons at nought by its scurrilous sarcasm. The contemporaries hailed this innovation of the verse as an emancipation from literary slavery, and encomiastic poetry was forever dead. Similarly the light raillery at society foibles indulged in by Catherine in her comedies had far more serious results than she had anticipated or was willing to countenance. It was taken up by the writers of the satirical journals, to be used as a weapon in their attacks upon the dark sides of life, whether they were the fault of society or of the Government. This was still more the case with the comedies of the time, which

did not content themselves with a criticism of manners, as in Fon-Vizin's *The Minor* or Knyazhnin's *Odd People,* but ventured even on the dangerous path of censuring Government officials for their loose morals and readiness to be bribed. The stanza "Take, you'll learn the art with ease, take whatever you can seize," which is found in Kapnist's *Pettifoggery,* became a byword soon after the performance of the comedy, from which it may be seen that even at that time Russians looked upon their literature as a kind of political pamphleteering.

The most interesting case of the interaction of literature and politics is to be seen in Radishchev's *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow.* Radishchev was in charge of the Customs House when he found it necessary to acquire the English language in order to dispense with a translator in the transaction of business with England. He was attracted by Sterne's *Sentimental Journey,* the manner and style of which he adopted in his own work, but the purposes of the two productions were quite dissimilar. In the Russian *Sentimental Journey* the underlying idea was the breaking away from tradition, tyranny and obscurantism. He advocated the liberation of the serfs, the abolition of class distinction, already greatly reduced by Peter's institution of ranks, a toleration of dissenters, and many more enlightened views, which were influenced by the

democratic tendencies of the French and the North American Revolution. Catherine divined at once the purport of his *Journey,* which having been prohibited by the censor, was current in manuscript form. She saw in it the work of Franklin's ideas, for she is said to have exclaimed, "He is a Martinist, he praises Franklin." And Radishchev and Novikov, the editor of several of the satirical journals, were the first literary martyrs in Russia, the first bogatyrs in literature, to be followed by a continuous stream of protagonists of the people, who have suffered exile and confinement in prisons and in Siberia, who have preferred struggle with want to Governmental advancement or lionization in society, who have abhorred the cry of "art for art's sake," and have defied all traditional canons of literature in the one desire to serve the people.

Naturally not all the authors have belonged to this school, and many attempts have been made to adopt the Western, well-established literary models, but all those which had no root in the national ideal have been fugitive and without any consequence. The Romantic movement of the German type, with its extravagant conception of a nation's past and its reveling in a misty present, produced the facile translator Zhukovski, but its efforts were as abortive as those of the preceding pseudo-classicists. Sentimentalism held sway for some time, counting among its representatives

the talented Karamzin and Vyazemski, but it, too, vanished soon, because ecstatic emotion is not inherent in the Russians as it is in the Germans. The English Romanticism, as treated by Byron, was much longer in vogue, because it demanded a free exercise of one's passions and reveled in a revolt against conventions and political tyranny, because it was essentially a literature of bogatyrs.

A happy conjunction of circumstances made Pushkin the arch-priest of Romanticism in Russia. Every foreign influence had been brought to bear upon Russian literature when Pushkin entered the area. French, German, Italian, Latin, English models had been successfully imitated and adapted by his predecessors, and Karamzin had given the language that polish which the Romanticists needed for their voluptuous imagery. The Napoleonic wars having been terminated by the Russian campaign of 1812, the country had created its own heroic figure in the person of Alexander I, and the presence of Russian troups in many European countries had so enlarged the literary geography as to furnish an extraneous setting which the authors of that school needed for their exotic heroes. Pushkin himself was half an exotic. Russian to the core, his negro ancestry made his blood course more rapidly, and the romantic exaltation which he was to depict was part of his own nature. The society in which he moved in his youth harbored just such Don Juans, Childe

Harolds, Beppos, Manfreds as formed the themes of Byron and his school, and at the age of twenty, one of his liberal utterances and scurrilous verses caused his banishment to the Crimea and the Caucasus, where he found a native substitute for the countries of the Mediterranean, the classic habitat of Childe Harold and other "children of nature."

The ideal of the English Romanticists was the liberation of the individual from tyranny, not only of the state, but also of the bourgeois democracy, hence Revolt is their motto. Byron died in his attempt to free Greece, and Shelley expressed his rebellious spirit in the very titles of his great poems, *The Revolt of Islam* and *Prometheus Unbound.* This sentiment appealed greatly to the bogatyr Pushkin. Before the liberation of the masses could take place, the individual had to be freed from the bonds of political and social tradition. Before we establish a colorless equality, we must have a reign of individual inequalities. In a conversation with Madame Smirnov Pushkin is reported to have said: "In all times there have been chosen ones, leaders,—as far back as Noah and Abraham. The intelligent will of individuals, or of the minority, has ruled humanity. In the masses the will is disunited, and he who has the power over the masses blends the wills into one. In all forms of government men have in a fatal way submitted to the minority or to individuals,

so that the word democracy presents itself to me to some extent without contents and deprived of a foundation. With the Greeks the men of thought were equal,—they were the real rulers. In reality, inequality is the law of nature. Considering the diversity of talents, even of physical possibilities, there is no uniformity in the human mass, hence, there is also no equality. The minority has undertaken all the changes for the better or for the worse, and the crowd has followed in its footsteps, like Panurge's flock. To kill Cæsar, Brutus and Cassius sufficed; to kill Tarquin, there was need only of Brutus. To transform Russia, the power of Peter the Great alone was enough. Napoleon checked what there was left of the Revolution without any outside aid. Individuals have accomplished all the great deeds in history. The will has created, destroyed, transformed. Nothing can be more interesting than the history of the saints, those men with extraordinary strength of character. Men like these were followed and emulated, but the first word was always said by them. All this appears as a direct contradiction of the democratic system, which does not recognize individuals,—that natural aristocracy. I do not think that the world will ever see the end of that which issues from the depth of human nature, which, besides, exists in Nature, of inequality."

This credo of Pushkin is of great importance, not only in helping us to locate the vacillating, childlike, titanic nature of the poet himself, but also to understand the similar natures of the Russian protagonists of a later time, until we reach Lev Tolstoy, to whom "those saints with extraordinary strength of character" appealed as much as they did to the great poet. The poet was confronted, on the one hand, by the barbarism of the Government, whose only purpose seemed to be the crushing of every individual endeavor, and, on the other, by a servile, ignorant, materialistic society, that only enjoyed glittering mediocrity and could not understand art and literature, except in the service of their jaded tastes. Pushkin was a Greek in his conception of beauty and truth, and he was fully aware of his duty to society, as he distinctly explained in his poem, *The Prophet.* Now he felt that he should be a Brutus, and now, that he should find his mission in the passive virtues of a saint. But more often he vacillated, alternating between titanic onslaughts on the powers of evil and childlike contemplation of beauties all around him. In this apparent indifference to the masses he most resembles Goethe, with whom he shares many views on the destiny of man and the purposes of art. Both fell short of being the people's poets, and yet both were equally indifferent to the governmental fates of their na-

tions. Both worshiped the hero and preserved a philosophic poise in a time of great stress and democratic strivings.

The Romantic movement flourished for a while in Russia, and the gifted Lermontov, too early lost to literature, evolved a more etherealized aspect of the revolt, one that is akin to the spirit of Shelley. The Romantic novel, for which Pushkin had set an example in his *Captain's Daughter* and *Evgeni Onyegin,* was cultivated in Lermontov's *Hero of Our Time,* and was elaborated by a whole host of novelists of more than ordinary ability. But even in the lifetime of Pushkin the exotic Romanticism evolved into the specifically Russian "natural" school, leaving behind only a love for the borderlands, the Crimea and the Caucasus, which play an important part even in the productions of Tolstoy. It was Pushkin's friend, Gogol, who had successfully reproduced the heroic of the south of Russia in his *Taras Bulba* and his *Little Russian Sketches,* who was to be proclaimed as the founder of a new, a distinctively Russian school of literature.

Although Gogol's *The Mantle* is the first notable realistic story, it is his *Revizor* and his *Dead Souls* that evoked the deep admiration of his critic. The *Revizor* would be considered in the West as an excellent farce, exceptionally well constructed on the basis of a mistaken identity, but in Russia it is considered as the culminating ef-

fort of the comedy in its attack upon rascality and corruption. The comedies of Fon-Vizin and Kapnist had a worthy successor in Griboyedov's *Intelligence Comes to Grief,* in which cringing officialdom of the '20's and the superficialities of what was known as best society were mercilessly ridiculed. Russians had come to think of it as the last word in dramatic art, when the *Revizor* by its unsurpassed humor and pungent sarcasm overshadowed all previous attempts in this direction and made official life a butt of ridicule throughout the land. It was worth a stack of political pamphlets, and its life would have been cut short in its very incipiency, had not Emperor Nicholas laughed himself sick at the first private performance, thus sanctioning its publication. Similarly *Dead Souls* could pass elsewhere only as a clever transference of Don Quixote's exploits to modern Russia, nor would it have attracted there more than a passing attention. But when Pushkin heard Gogol read the first part of it, where on the slender plot of rascally Chichikov's purchase of deceased "souls" from the landed proprietors are strung a large number of negative characters of society, the miser, the brute, the shrewd business woman, the gambler, and so forth, he had tears in his eyes and exclaimed, "How sad our Russia is!" And Byelinski, the critic, hastened to pronounce this work as making an epoch, as being the first of the new, the "natural," school in Russia.

There was good reason for such an assumption. Russian literature had consistently departed more and more from its servile attitude to the rich and mighty; it had voiced the native repugnance to unreasoning tradition; it had striven for an improvement in social and political life, not by fine-spun theories of possible utopias, but by the representation of a bare and cheerless reality. It is true, not all authors had shown the same eagerness in espousing the people's cause, but there was a continuous stream of ardent advocates of democracy from Novikov and Radishchev until Gogol, and in Gogol all the characteristic Russian elements were greatly intensified. No one before him had indulged in such bold realism, with utter disregard of the literary canons, which demanded a nice balancing between good and evil and did not permit the mere representation of misery, rascality, suffering. There is not one redeeming character in the *Revizor* or in the *Dead Souls.* They are, every one of them, tainted by some weakness. Not that Gogol did not know of any men and women of unstained morals. He simply reproduced the Russian spirit of self-accusation, of confession of sins, and he appeared as that apostle of patriotism which could improve and help its country, not by self-flattery and sickly chauvinism, but by a studious representation of native faults and shortcomings. His appeal was

not to any one class of readers, but to the whole of Russia.

Byelinski recognized the fact that Russian literature represented a conscious and persistent effort in the direction of simplicity and naturalness, and away from artificiality and tradition. Sooner or later it had to reach out for the typical in life and abandon the pleasing exceptions, that is, it was to become a servant of "the people," the masses, and not of a select class of society. The people had no set artistic traditions, but an infinitely varied spiritual life, the virtues of which shone through all the external crust of social degradation, often more brilliantly than in the most favored members of society. To bring this spiritual life to the surface, one must not hide or transmogrify the hideous accretions, as the poets have been doing, but one must learn to discern first the obvious and unpleasant accessories. One must speak the truth. Realism is the basis of true literature, but it is not its all. First we should learn to see and love the naked truth, and not shrink from the disclosures of reality. Then this truth should be given to the world, not in order to satisfy some prurient artistic desire, but in order to serve humanity. Literature is one of the activities of religion, in its attempt to help those who need help most, and if charity is the fundamental virtue of religion, it cannot be absent from

literature as well, and the lowest men must be equally embraced with the highest in its new purpose of "art for life's sake."

"The Redeemer of the human race came into the world for all men; not wise and educated men, but simple-minded and simple-hearted fishermen He called to be fishers of men; not rich and happy men, but poor, suffering, fallen men He sought, in order to console some, and encourage and raise others. Festering sores on a body that was hardly covered with unclean rags did not offend His eyes, which shone with love and charity. He, the Son of God, loved men humanely and sympathized with them in their misery, dirt, shame, debauch, vices, wrongdoings. He bid those throw a stone at the adulteress who could not in any way accuse their own consciences, and put the hard-hearted judges to shame, and gave the fallen woman a word of consolation,—and the robber who breathed his last on the cross as a well-deserved punishment, for one moment of repentance, heard from Him the word of forgiveness and peace. But we, the sons of men, we want to love only those of our brothers who are like us, we turn away from the lower classes as from pariahs, fallen ones, lepers. What virtues and deserts have given us the right to do so? Is it not rather the very absence of all virtues and deserts? But the divine word of love and brotherhood has not in vain been proclaimed in the world."

These significant words of the critic show that the underlying conviction of the Russian writers was based on a deep religious sentiment, and that sooner or later they would gravitate towards the simple Christianity of the first centuries. Though ignorant and uncouth, the peasants had preserved the chief element of religion, untouched by philosophic reason, and the growing interest in truth, naturalness, simplicity, which characterizes all spiritual efforts in Russia in the Nineteenth Century, could be maintained and fanned only by turning away from the artificiality of society and seeking communion with the "people." Everything that bore the imprint of the conventional and the particularistic was rejected. The severest blow fell upon poetry, as being built up on artificial canons and more especially in the service of the "select." The mantle of Pushkin had descended on a series of authors who at any other time would have been the pride of the nation. But the exquisite literary vignettes of Fet, the gentle, picturesque lyrics of Polonski, the dramatic poems of Aleksyey Tolstoy fell on unwilling ears, and the idealizations of the classic and medieval past of Maykov even provoked the acrid criticism of Pisarev, who predicted that the time was near when the esthetician and poet would disappear like so many slugs of the primeval world. The poet's activity was condemned by him because it was not prompted by any desire to tell society anything

useful, because he did not consciously aid in the development of men in any direction. He was simply an artisan who did not wish his skill to go in vain, who created classic poems in proportion as he was in need of some cash, and not because he had anything new to talk about. He was simply an intellectual parasite.

But the creative power died hard. While the poets of pure art had to wait for more favorable times to have their collected works fittingly published, the poets of the "people" bridged over the chasm between art and reality, by singing of the cheerless, everyday scenes in the lives of the masses. Koltsov had begun to write in the style of the popular songs even in the lifetime of Pushkin, but it was mainly Nekrasov who made such lyrics viable. He had published a volume of songs in the classic style in 1840, but this having been unfavorably received, he bought it up and destroyed it. He ventured again into the field of poetry in 1856, but this time the interest in the submerged classes of society which actuated him gave him new and undreamt of possibilities. Had Pisarev lived long enough to witness the universal worship of this poet of the people, he would have found a permanent place for him in his scheme of "art for life's sake."

The widest field for the creative genius lay now in prose, where the freer scope of natural speech did not subject the writer to the suspicion of arti-

ficial effort, hence the unprecedented growth of the Russian novel since the days of Byelinski. Pushkin laid the foundation for the characteristic study of Russian society with his poetical *Evgeni Onyegin,* and Lermontov had indicated the same need for the treatment of contemporary conditions in his romantic novel with the significant title *A Hero of Our Time.* But the real impetus to the new school was given only by Turgenev when he introduced the peasant into literature in his *Memoirs of a Huntsman.* These appeared in the same year as Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* from which it differs in purport and results, as the Russian spirit differs from the American. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was intended as a protest against the evil of slavery and as such it preached the broadest humanitarian views, which by the authoress herself were a year later strengthened by a large amount of documentary evidence as to the evil, not only from a moral, but also from an economic standpoint. It is because of the intrusion of purely practical considerations that the resulting propaganda for the abolition of slavery led to the sanguinary conflict between the North and the South. In Russia, the revelations contained in Turgenev's sketches, even more startling than those in *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* because they were based on experiences on his mother's farm, came at a time when all the better classes of society were seeking in literature a de-

liverance from all enthralling factors in life. Not only the intellectual proletariat, that had nothing to lose, but a large number of serf owners as well, threw themselves with vigor upon the propagation of the new faith of a broader humanity, and from 1858 to 1861 the serfs were freed, without bloodshed, by the command of the Emperor who was only executing the people's will. Economically the emancipation was a huge blunder, from which Russia is still suffering, but from the standpoint of pure humanity it is one of the greatest triumphs in the history of religious thought.

It was one of the basic tenets of the Natural School that an author could describe only that which he knew best from his personal observation. Turgenev, who soon after the writing of the first sketches left Russia, to return to it only sporadically, chose for his subjects men from the cultured middle class nobility, with whom he remained in constant relation, but did not continue the descriptions from peasant life, which grew to be foreign to him. This was chiefly done by Grigorovich in a series of novels which gave him the title of the Russian Harriet Beecher Stowe, and by a number of minor authors, Uspenski, Zlatovratski and others, who differed from one another in their convictions as to the backwardness of the masses and their possible future. Turgenev, in depicting the life of the cultured classes, tried to give a running commentary on the intellectual

progress of society. In his *Fathers and Sons* he attempted to characterize the young generation of men who took up a negative attitude towards contemporary civilization, for whom he created the term "Nihilists." In reality it is an unconscious comparison of the struggle which ensues when German materialistic positivism conflicts in the same person with Russian religious idealism, for the hero Bazarov, who has been trained on Moleschott and Buechner, is doomed to failure when he transfers the cold dictates of German science to the unformed, but gentle Russian social life. Exquisite as Turgenev's novels are, the Russian critics have accused the author of having been too far removed from direct contact with actualities to have caught completely the spiritual progress of Russia in the '60's. Nor does the perfection of his style and workmanship make up in the Russian mind for a certain aloofness from the people, even as Tolstoy could not forgive him his aristocratic propensities.

The intense interest in the masses had begun before the publication of the *Memoirs of a Huntsman.* Herzen had been obliged to leave Russia in 1847, and he developed abroad a prodigious political activity in the direction of socialism. His trenchant reviews of political conditions, which he wrote for his famous *The Bell,* though strictly forbidden, were eagerly read by all classes of society, including the highest dignitaries of state.

In his novel, *Who is to be Blamed,* he advanced the Russian hero to a struggle with political and social traditions, which for several decades was to be the basis of all youthful activities. Meanwhile a great number of talented writers proceeded in true Russian fashion to lay bare the dark side, not only of the Government and the officials, but also of those men who were striving to liberate the people from intellectual and physical slavery. Pisemski reveled in the description of every kind of corruption, carrying his realism to the farthest extremes. He did not even spare the progressive movement of the '60's, and the disclosure of moral degradation, which he made in *Troubled Waters* in 1863, was even too harrowing for the liberals, who otherwise welcomed revelations of their faults. Saltykov, on the other hand, who from a political exile rose to be a governor of state without compromising his democratic convictions, created a series of masterly satires dealing with the reverse side of official and provincial life. Unfortunately he indulged in hidden allusions, in order to pass by the censor, and the linguistic difficulties thus raised have deterred the translators from rendering his superb sketches, among which *The Golovlevs* deservedly enjoys a reputation as a classic.

A unique place is occupied by Ostrovski's dramas. The all-pervading influence of the Natural School was to be exerted on the most tra-

ditional of the literary species. The three unities, even though considerably weakened with the fall of pseudo-classicism, the stage-setting with its conventional three walls, the incongruous asides, and many more artificialities seemed to be insurmountable difficulties for the advocates of the natural in art. But Ostrovski solved them in a characteristic manner. Instead of giving complete plots, he merely strove to give a page out of life, with the least effort at elaboration and climaxes. These scenes are extremely realistic and simple, yet they tax the ability of the greatest actors. As to the subject matter, they deal, with the exception of some less successful historical Dramatic Chronicles, almost exclusively with scenes from the Orthodox merchant class, and represent the conflict of pre-Petrine Domostroy barbarity with the all-powerful modern civilization.

All these authors busied themselves with the milieu to which they originally belonged. But the deepest study of the submerged was made by Dostoevski, the son of an army surgeon in extremely reduced circumstances, for ten years an exile in Siberian cities and prisons, a bodily wreck and subject to epileptic fits. No one understood the suffering of the lower elements, no one appreciated their genuine virtues beneath their outward viciousness, better than he. What he described was what he himself had experienced, even though he was not himself criminally inclined.

But that physical ailment, which predisposed to criminal actions, gave him an insight into the mental processes of human beings who did not heretofore figure in belles lettres to any considerable extent. He began his literary career in 1846 with a novel, *Poor People*, which was proclaimed as the work of a new Gogol. After his return from exile he published two long stories, embodying his experience in prisons and purlieus, under the significant titles *The Humiliated and the Offended* and *Memoirs from the Dead House.* These were soon followed by his greatest novel, *Crime and Punishment.*

In Dostoevski the democratic and religious principles of the new school of literature reached their climax. The plot of that story is as simple as it is unimportant. The student Raskolnikov, goaded by hunger and misery, brooded in his cheerless, low-studded room on the right a man had, following the example of the great hero, Napoleon, to commit a crime in order to obtain a much desired end. The story is one long, heart-rending account of the criminal's crime, his confession to the fallen woman, Sonya, his battle of wit in an attempt to mislead the police, and the final expiation. As a psychological study the novel stands unsurpassed in the whole range of literature, and as such it has been used as the basis of a new criminology, which, even as the author indicated by the very title, considers crime to carry in itself the element of pun-

ishment, or, as a distinguished Russian lawyer has expressed it in analyzing Tolstoy's *Resurrection,* a literary pendant to Dostoevski's story, *Crime is Punishment.* The mere psychological investigation of the student's crime is deeply religious in its purpose. It is in full accord with the Russian popular conception that the criminal is an unfortunate man, that he has already suffered much by departing from the easier road of righteousness; that the removal of the causes which lead to crime is more important than the punishment for the crime, which is essentially the fault, not of the individual, but of society. Had Dostoevski done nothing more than to voice this religious spirit of the masses, his deserts would be very great. But he went much further. With masterly skill he turned the prostitute Sonya into an embodiment of Christian charity. She, the ignorant sinner, who could not follow Raskolnikov's philosophic explanations of the causes of his crime, instinctively grasped the infinite tragedy, and instead of reproach or disgust burst into the saintly utterance, "There is no more unfortunate man in the whole world than you." When Oscar Wilde, in *De Profundis,* sought a cheerful word of hope in his prison, he turned to Dostoevski and the Russian "literature of pity," the only one where all "unfortunate" men may still get consolation, though all be gloom and despair without.

In no author have the faults and virtues of the whole nation been so blended as in the most typical of all the Russians, Lev Tolstoy. If all Russian literature and civilization perished, and nothing were left but the works of Tolstoy from which to reconstruct the Russian soul, we should find in them a complete inner history of the nation for the whole period of its existence. If, furthermore, a future antiquarian, unable to locate geographically and historically the people whom Tolstoy described, should attempt to draw his conclusions from internal evidence, he would be obliged to proclaim the nation as akin to the one that produced the New Testament, and the author as a close continuator of the passages known as the Sermon on the Mount.

Externally, Tolstoy's works betray their association with the Natural School. Truth, simplicity, sincerity, absence and hatred of the artificial and conventional, neglect of style for the deeper elaboration of contents, the development of moral conflicts on a slender and ill-followed plot, all these had long ago been formulated by Byelinski and executed by the adherents to his injunctions. Similarly Tolstoy never attempted to describe what he had not himself experienced, actually or potentially. Hence we find in his stories analyses of the upper class of landed proprietors and city dwellers, into whose midst he was born and educated, and of the peasants, with whom he

was in constant relations and to whom he was akin in spirit, but we totally lack references to the middle class, whom he knew only slightly. His heroes are remarkably true to Nature, not because he realistically chose them from his immediate surroundings, but because they are all diversified aspects of his own self, which, on account of his powerful genius, is but a reflection and a composite picture of the whole nation.

When we turn to the chronological evolution of his literary activity, we find a singular unity of purpose from his first, quasi-autobiographic *Childhood, Boyhood and Youth,* to his biographic *Confession* and the artistic productions of his last days. Everywhere faith, simple, unreasoning faith, not in the dogma of this or that church, but in the ultimate ends of a Divine providence determines his actions and the actions of his heroes. As a child Tolstoy was given much to confessions, not as an ecclesiastic function, but as a purging of the soul, and the inarticulate prayers and senseless penances of the saintly fool, "that saint with extraordinary strength of character," were to him the sincere expressions of a truly religious soul. The simplest folk were far more often possessed of the essence of religion than those who had been spoiled by civilization. In this conviction Tolstoy simply amplified the belief of Rousseau, expressed in his "return to Nature," which lay at the foundation of the new Romanticism. Indeed, Tol-

stoy began his literary career more nearly as a full-fledged Romanticist, for he gave his earliest stories a setting in the Caucasus and in the Crimea, and the earliest sketches breathe a Rousseauan contempt for civilization. But the essentially foreign Romanticism was transformed in the light of the views of the Natural School, a task which Tolstoy found very congenial to him because in the undeveloped Russian peasant he found the nearest approach to the natural man in Europe.

There is little in Tolstoy that is new or original. If Rousseau is the source of his "return to Nature," the Englishman Carpenter supplied him with the strongest arguments against civilization, and a host of Americans, Parker, Channing, Garrison, Henry George, Adin Ballou, supplied him with religious and political ideas. But these authors furnished him with new material only in so far as they based their conceptions on the teachings of a simple Christianity, hence, in so far as they represented the general tendency of the Russian mind, in so far as they gave utterance to that which Russians had been feeling and practising, without formulating a philosophy or theology. It is the great desert of Tolstoy that he transferred back the results of Christian speculation into Christian action, that he described faith, charity, the brotherhood of man, humility of spirit, not in abstract deductions, but in actual operation among those lowly in spirit to whom the king-

dom of God belongs. He has attempted philosophic generalization, and, however noble their purpose may be, they are always weak in argument and defective in scientific precision. But he is always sublime in the characterization of the Russian soul.

His intellectuals are always vacillating and undecided, although filled with the best of purposes. Olenin, in *The Cossacks,* breaks away from the restraint of the city, to begin life anew in the Caucasus, but he returns without having gained anything from his communion with Nature; Pierre, in *War and Peace,* after awkwardly blundering through life, settles down in a passive bourgeois existence; Levin, in *Anna Karenin,* solves none of the religious and economic problems which trouble him all the time; Nekhlyudov, in *Resurrection,* expiates his early transgressions by following the woman he has wronged to Siberia, but returns home, only to begin to ponder on the word, "Seek ye the kingdom of God, and his righteousness." In the latter case Tolstoy significantly adds, "The future will show how this period of his life will end." Everywhere Christian strivings, with the result removed to an uncertain future.

Then there is the vast mass of the unthinkingly living, impelled by inner promptings, carried away by sin, creating tragedies, those men and women in society, Anna Karenin, Vronski, Katyusha, whom he does not execrate but pity, who permit us

to exercize those Christian virtues which would have no meaning without a world of sinners to practise them upon. Deep as Tolstoy's sentiments of righteousness are, we nowhere find a word of condemnation against the failings of the passions, because these failings are already a punishment and need only kindness to be diminished or destroyed. But the people in the humblest walks of life, Natalya Savishna, who before her death calmly prepares her funeral clothes; the soldier in the trench, who goes about his work and does his duty unflinchingly; peasant Akim, who in half-articulated speech urges his son to proclaim his crime to all the Christians,—these are "the saints with extraordinary strength of character," whom Tolstoy loves to contrast with the customary heroes of the Napoleonic type. When Merezhkovski, the captious critic, tried to crush Tolstoy with the assertion that "he discrowns that last incarnation of the heroic spirit in history," and that he, "the victor over Napoleon, is himself a Napoleon of the numberless democratic army of the small, the miserable, the lamenting, and the crushed," he unwittingly characterized him as the greatest Christian author since the time of Christ.

It would seem that the narrower aspect of life from the Christian angle would restrict and debase literature as an art. The reverse is the case. Since the element of pity lies at the basis of Russian belles lettres, it has enabled the writers to

treat with infinite love and consummate objectiveness such subjects as are incompatible with the dictates of "art for art's sake." Dostoevski had already ventured into the psychology of the criminal and the submerged, and a large host of authors have since his day descended to the lowest classes of society for their subjects. Gorki, himself of lowly origin, has reveled in depicting the elemental passions of the vagabond, the thief, the dwellers of basements, and has found simple virtues even among these humble people. With what consummate art he has painted the outraged ideal of virtue in the bakers in *Twenty-Six and One!* With even greater skill Chekhov has given us a gallery of scenes from every day life, with its tragedies and gentle virtues. Korolenko and Potapenko, themselves of Little-Russian stock, have written in a lighter vein of simple folk and their joys. Andreev and Artsybashev, and a host of younger men, with a leaning towards the decadent, have delved in the awful field of aberration and disease. Wherever we turn, we have some aspect of the great literature of pity, which is distinctly an outward manifestation of the crude, superstitious, unthinking, but essentially Christian attitude of the Russian masses.

IV

ART FOR LIFE'S SAKE IN RUSSIA

WHEN Russia adopted Christianity from Byzantium in the Tenth Century, the Greek church had evolved a characteristic roof from its older semi-circular form by adding at the base a "neck" or "drum." The earliest Russian churches were formed on the Byzantine model, but between the Twelfth and the Fourteenth Century the drum was here bent inwardly, so as to give the cupola a belly-shape, and the hemisphere thus enlarged ended from above in a point. The hemisphere was well adapted for construction in stone, but the predominance of wood led to a modification of the "pear-shaped" dome, by cutting it into "barrel" surfaces meeting at angles and ending above in a sharp point. It is even suggested that the pointed dome in the stone churches is the result of this special modification upon Russian territory. The simplest wooden roof was in the form of a spire, with a long projecting lower edge, to keep the rainwater from splashing against the walls of the tower. Such a roof was known as "tent." Barrel and tent were frequently united

in the same roof, and in the Sixteenth Century the characteristic Russian Church architecture reveled in the combination of the two elements. It was on the point of developing into a distinct school, when all kinds of Western influences began to make themselves felt.

As early as 1475 Fioraventi had been called from Italy to erect churches and public buildings at Moscow. This architect took for his model the churches of Vladimir, which for two or three centuries had been showing a greater tendency to artistic independence, than the churches of Kiev or of Novgorod. In the next two centuries the union of the Italian ornamentation with the Vladimir type, aided by variation of the wooden towers, produced a great variety of complex forms which may be arranged in three classes. The first are variations of the tent towers. The second have a main body in the form of a long parallelopiped, with a lower altar attached to one of the long sides and a similar structure on the other side, while the main building ends in two or three tent towers. The churches of the third, the most common, type are cubical in shape, with five, more or less ornamental domes. In many cases the structures are complicated by wings, galleries, bell-towers, etc. Beginning with the end of the Seventeenth Century the foreign baroque style, later interchanging with extravagant imitations of the classical, hold sway in public buildings. Only

when the national element received its recognition in literature and music that the architects also turned to their ancient models, and, since the middle of the Nineteenth Century, a number of more or less successful attempts at restoring the native architecture have been made. One of the best examples of this promising new style is the Merchant Row in Moscow, in which artistic and utilitarian requirements have been beautifully blended.

The iconography of the churches remained in ancient Russia essentially Byzantine, of the period of its decay. The several schools mentioned in Moscow or Novgorod differed only in the manner of the application of paint and gold, and the conventions of the forms of the figures represented. There was nothing vivifying in the art, nothing distantly to be compared with the ecclesiastic or secular art in the West. But in the Sixteenth Century the Pskov school was acquainted with the progress of the art in Italy, for it has been shown that some of their icons are copied from Cimabue and Perugino. The Church, with its usual tyranny over thought, rebelled against any innovation and wanted to keep the pictorial art within the limits established by the Byzantines centuries before. While it was to some extent successful in excluding Western influence from the narrower field of the ecclesiastic art, the presence of foreign artists at the court and in Moscow in the Seven-

teenth Century did not fail to affect those painters who began to paint portraits and to provide persons with pictures.

Whenever the baleful influence of the Orthodox Church is weakened, the Russian people have shown, not only a remarkable independence of spirit, but have invariably evinced their inherent love of truth, simplicity and directness. The same happened in art. The Serbian Archdeacon Plyeshkovich having expressed himself with contempt about the improvements in the representation of the human figures in the paintings of two Seventeenth Century artists, one of them, Joseph Vladimirov, wrote to him a remarkable letter in which breathes all the disregard of mere tradition that we are wont to see in the activities of the Russian mind in the Nineteenth Century. "Do you mean to tell us that none but Russians should paint icons and that we should worship only Russian iconography, without accepting and honoring anything from foreign countries? Ask your spiritual father and the elders, and they will tell you that in our Christian Russian churches all the holy vessels, the phelonia and omophoria, palls and covers, and all fine stuffs and gold ornaments, precious stones and jewels are obtained in foreign countries, and that you introduce them into the church and adorn with them the altar and the icons and do not observe any wrong or profanation in this. In our time you demand of the artist that he

should paint gloomy and unattractive portraits, and you teach us how to lie against Ancient Writ. Where do you find the injunction that the faces of the saints should be painted swarthy and dark? Was the whole human race created with the same countenances? Have all the saints been lean and swarthy? If here on earth their limbs were mortified they were restored in heaven, and they appeared illuminated in body and soul. What dæmon has, then, begrudged the truth and has put fetters on the illustrious portraits of the saints? What well-thinking man will not laugh at such absurdity that darkness and gloom should be preferred to light? No, that is is not the custom of the artist. What he sees and hears that he represents in his paintings and portraits, and he harmonizes everything with what he has heard or seen. And, as in the Old Covenant, so in the New Testament,—many male and female saints were pleasing to the sight."

Milyukov adduces these words in order to show that the Russian artists in the Seventeenth Century were beginning to be actuated by the same religious ardor which caused the reformation of ecclesiastic art in the West in the Fourteenth Century. This early manifestation of Russian realism did not come to any fruition, because the masses, kept in ignorance of the modern movements in art by the Church, could only look with suspicion upon the innovation, while the more en-

lightened upper class shortly afterwards fell under the violent reformatory efforts of Peter the Great, which put an end to the germs of a native development and for more than a century opened the doors to servile imitations from the West, in the service, not of the nation, but of the corrupt upper class that considered itself advanced in civilization in proportion as it abandoned everything that bore a native aspect.

The modern school of painting begins in the Eighteenth Century, with Losenko director of the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts. Having studied under the best Italian and French painters of his day, he demanded of the students of the academy that they should follow those rules which he himself had acquired in his foreign studies and which for a long time characterized the Russian academic school. He insisted on precision of drawing and imitation of the forms of classic sculpture and the Italian art of the period of the eclectics. The same sources determined the conventions of color schemes and the subjects of composition. Although the Academy produced a goodly number of artists, Kozlov, Sokolov, Ugryumov, Egorov, Shebuev, there is nothing specifically Russian to be found in the subject matter of their paintings, for they all reveled in the grand historic canvases. Not even Bryullov, who broke with the tradition of the Academy and introduced the Romanticism then prevalent in the West, in his *Last Day of*

Pompeii departed from the easy road of imitation, even though he was declared to be one of the great universal painters. Bryullov also distinguished himself by his artistic portraits of royal personages, a branch of the pictorial art which was very popular and brought to the front a large number of good artists.

The genre style was not much in vogue, although scenes from the life of the people were frequently given as themes to the students of the Academy. In the beginning of the Nineteenth Century the interest in national matters was still too academic to inspire the artists with the wish to bring the spectator into an intimate relation with the people. The first one to attempt genre was Venetsianov who had lived among the common people and knew them well. Fortunately he did not study his art in the Academy and so did not have to subscribe to any artistic dogma. Although he faithfully reproduced incidents from everyday life, he had no followers among the younger painters, because the art was still exclusively in the service of the upper classes. It was again a dilettante, Fedotov, who in the middle of the century attracted attention with his humorous and pathetic scenes from contemporary life. After the Crimean War all Russia was agog with reformatory ideas, and literature and art played the important rôles elsewhere taken up by the political pamphlet. As Gogol almost exclusively represented sad incidents in life,

in order the more directly to hasten the Reform, so the genre painters almost entirely devoted themselves to the reproduction of scenes which would direct the attention to the social and political evils under which the country was groaning. This was especially the case with the group of artists who in 1872 formed the Society of Movable Artistic Expositions, and of those painters who later attached themselves to that society. Among the many well-known artists of this category are to be found Makovski, Ryepin, Perov.

Landscape painting had been practised by the Academy and its students since its opening, and a large number of excellent artists, beginning with Shchedrin, had been active in this branch which more than any other leads to realism. But for a long time, the painters were under the influence of foreign models. It is only within modern times that the Russian artists have become national in even this respect and have produced a long series of distinctively Russian landscapes. Unfortunately the younger men have of late been affected by the Western decadence, which they have introduced into the landscape in a variety of impressionistic ways.

A regeneration of art is coming in Russia, not from the organic development of any school or from an interrelation between art and nationalism, but from the deeper and more religious conception of art, as voiced by Lev Tolstoy. When his *What*

is Art? appeared in 1897, the vast majority of foreign, and many native artists hastened to condemn it as contrary to all canons of art and as proceeding from a layman not in touch with the superb accomplishments of centuries. But a small number of the greatest and best artists Russia has yet given to the world just as quickly accepted Tolstoy's dicta as incontrovertible, and have proceeded to follow his injunctions to the minutest details. Such an agreement between the leading artists and the leading litterateur is not due to the preponderant influence which the latter is exerting, because in any other field he has but lukewarm disciples, but because nowhere did he strike so powerfully at the foot of an evil which veiled the Russian soul from its great purpose as in the arena of art, the last one to emerge from the service of the mighty and the tyranny of tradition. It will be necessary first to present the essential contentions brought forward by Tolstoy, in order to appreciate the results already obtained under the new, religious aspect of art and the still greater possibilities in store for it in a profounder and more universal application of his tenets.

There is a remarkable parallelism between Vladimirov's conception of art in the Seventeenth and Tolstoy's conception in the Nineteenth Century. Vladimirov objected to that traditional representation of the saints which pleased the few who had been brought up under certain canons,

and demanded that truth and reality should lie at the foundation of the artist's endeavors to represent the illuminated, that is, the spiritualized, bodies of the saints. Similarly Tolstoy formulates his idea of art as "that activity which has for its aim the conveyance to men of those highest and best sensations which men have obtained," but such feelings and sensations are only then best and highest when they coincide with the religious convictions about goodness of a nation at any particular period of its existence. Beauty cannot lie at the basis of art, because beauty is an indefinite and varying idea, contradictory even in the definition of contemporaries, while goodness is the essence of the religious conviction of the masses. The average Christian draws his idea of goodness from the New Testament, the Mohammedan from the Koran, the Jew from the Old Testament, and so on. None of those believers would find anywhere in their holy writs any definition of beauty, and they could not bring their arts into conformity with such an indefinite principle. The art of the Middle Ages has been great in proportion as it has been accessible to the religious consciousness of the time and as it was able to affect the masses in the direction of goodness. As in the past, so in the present. If the religious life has broadened and represents new interests, this art must keep pace with it, and, as Vladimirov put it, the artist must harmonize his

religious ideas with his own sensations, because only thus can he put himself in touch with those to whom he wants to convey certain truths.

Tolstoy recognizes three factors which, in spite of the clear purpose of art to act as an adjunct to religion, have aided in the propagation of an adulterated art. The reward which the artist gets for his production leads him to create for a small minority of men capable and willing to pay, not for what is to aid the masses in their moral development, but for what pleases them in their corrupted tastes. The criticism of art, being based, not on the correspondence with the religious conviction of the time, but on the canons established by the Greeks and misunderstood and debased by the medieval artists, who were in the service of the mighty, causes the artist to follow artificial and antiquated traditions which have nothing in common with the reality and its relation to religion. The schools of art try to teach art, whereas the artist should only convey sensations which he himself experiences, hence they can only help in the dissemination of other people's, that is, of adulterated, art.

The common religious consciousness of men leads to the recognition of the brotherhood of men, and true art should bring vividly to their minds the manner of applying this consciousness to life. It is the duty of art to popularize this feeling of brotherhood, which at present is accessible only

to the best men in society. "The mission of art in our time consists in transferring from the sphere of reason into the sphere of feeling that truth that the good of men is in their union among themselves, and in establishing in place of the now existing violence that kingdom of God, that is, of love, which to us appears as the highest aim of the life of humanity."

When Tolstoy's *What is Art?* became known in translations, the artists of Europe hastened to express their condemnation, because art more than anything else depends at present on tradition and on schools, the chief aim of which is to bend the natural genius away from the dictates of its own feeling and reason and to foist upon it their own canons. Fortunately for Russia the spirit of self-assertion is not entirely dead. It was the dilettanti Venetsianov and Fedotov, who owed little to academic tradition and arrogance, that showed the road which genre painting should take in Russia. Similarly there were at least three great artists who either independently had discovered the same truths as Tolstoy or who recognized the essential merits of his artistic teachings. The works and ideas of these three throw a brilliant light on the Russian soul and show how very much Tolstoy represents the latent thought of that unformed school which in art, as in literature, strives to apply the rule of "art for life's sake."

Sculpture has in modern times been only a re-

flex of the Greek art, and it is only within a generation that here and there it tries to emancipate itself from a close adherence to antiquity. Russia has produced a considerable number of artists in stone and bronze, but the great majority of them show no specific national characteristics. Not even the very talented Antokolski has been able to escape the classic tradition, even though he frequently chose persons and scenes from Russian history. Had Tolstoy's disquisition on art appeared earlier in his life, it would have unquestionably exerted a powerful influence on his sensitive mind, and his art would have taken a new direction. Though it was too late for him to break away from academic lines, he was none the less one of the first to recognize the inherent value of the trenchant analysis.

Instead of complying with the request to discuss Tolstoy's essay, Antokolski gave an independent opinion on the condition of art in Russia and abroad in his day, and came to precisely the same conclusions with the literary authority. Art had begun with pseudo-classicism, had successively adopted romanticism, realism, naturalism, impressionism, pseudo-mysticism. It began with pseudo- and has returned to pseudo-. One would imagine that art had conquered for itself an enormous territory, but being in the service of those who can pay for it, it is devoid of ideals. "I used to believe in the high mission of art, in a

man's necessity to commune with it; I used to believe that it was to the soul what dew is to the fields, that it ennobled men, softened manner and evoked better feelings. It seemed to me that it would always be that way, because it could not be otherwise. Having grown gray, I saw that art did not ennoble men, did not soften their manners, did not awaken in them better feelings; I saw that art and life had parted, that men loved only the external covering of art, its body, not its soul. They buy pictures and engravings, in order to fill up empty spaces on the walls, and they do this only because it is considered right to do so. The rich pay mad sums of money for the productions of first-class artists because others want them, and others want them because the first ask for them. This is not love, but passion for art, a passion to possess that which others have, and to have it only that another may not get it. The most decent people are infected by this desire, even our famous collector Tretyakov, who wants at all cost to possess unique things."

Antokolski comes to the identical conclusion that art is an adjunct to religion, that art adorns the temples; that it teaches us to pray better, to love God, and to appreciate the sentiments of others, that it is an expounder of the human soul, a mediator between God and man. "Art speaks more clearly, more concretely, more beautifully what each one would like to say but cannot say."

The Greeks and the medieval artists had understood this function of art, but in our times it is one-sided and no longer in the service of the people. Beauty has become a matter for epicureans and has lost its high purpose. The artists do not understand their calling, and the critics are not able to bring them back to it. Only a great artist with a delicate perception of moral principles, such as is Tolstoy, is able correctly to posit the question, What is Art?

If Antokolski agreed entirely with Tolstoy's conception of art, Vereshchagin had independently come to the same conclusions long before Tolstoy had formulated his ideas. Vereshchagin was born in 1842 in Cherepovets, in the Government of Novgorod, where his father, a nobleman of distinguished descent, had large country estates. His mother came from a Tartar family in the Caucasus, so that Vereshchagin claimed to be three-fourths Russian and one-fourth Tartar. With eight years of age he entered a school of cadets, it having been the intention of his family that he should pursue a military career. In 1861 he abandoned the military service and devoted himself to painting at the Academy in St. Petersburg. Two years later he won a medal by his composition, "Ulysses upon returning home kills the suitors of Penelope," the only classic theme he ever attempted and a sepia execution of which he is said to have thrown into the fire. Fortu-

nately he had not been connected long enough with the school to have his innate genius corrupted by servile adherence to tradition.

His artistic development runs parallel with Tolstoy's literary evolution. He had had a taste of foreign travel while still a cadet, and the halo of Romanticism which lay over the Caucasus took him to the wildest regions of those mountains, where he worked feverishly in the attempt at reproducing directly from Nature the impressions which he there received. The next year he passed in Paris. He had intended to study under Gérôme, but revolted at the teacher's suggestion that he should busy himself with copying pictures at the Louvre. He immediately returned to the Caucasus, and ever afterwards devoted himself only to such scenes as he himself witnessed or studied historically in the light of personal experiences. In 1867 he followed General Kaufmann in his Asiatic expeditions, where he found abundant material for the representation of nomadic and oriental life. The realistic reproduction of war scenes, which had nothing in common with the usual idealization of such conflicts but represented them in all truth and terror, made his great collection of Turkestan pictures the butt of violent attacks in Russia. He was accused of having disgraced the Russian army, and the Government officials declined to purchase it for the national gallery. He was on the point of selling it to Eng-

land, when the collector Tretyakov of Moscow bought it. But he, too, had later his trouble in presenting it to the nation, because those in the service of the Government were afraid to harbor it.

Vereshchagin's reputation had meanwhile become universal, but he did not meet with undivided favor, for he was everywhere accused of unnecessarily flaunting Realism into the public's eyes. While on a visit to India he was called to a professorship in the Academy of Art at St. Petersburg, but he curtly replied in a public letter that he considered such distinction as of no value to him and that he preferred to be free in his activity. He seldom returned to Russia, because his insatiate desire to travel and see things for himself took him through the whole world. In 1877 he followed the Russian army to Turkey, painting a large number of canvases on the very battlefield, and often while bullets whizzed about him. He himself was wounded and his brother was killed in one engagement. Some weeks later he went to the battlefield to find the body of his brother, and he sat down to paint the field of carnage, but he broke down under tears, and had to make several attempts before he could finish it. No one has depicted more truly the terror and agony of death in the field than he, and a mere collection of his war scenes is more powerful than any argument against war.

He distinguished himself as a soldier, traveler, author and artist. But he was more than that. He has given us his ideas on art, which not only show him a deeper thinker and in agreement with Tolstoy, but once more reveal the latent potentialities of the Russian soul. The Vereshchagin Exhibition in America in 1889–1890 offered the public, not only a catalogue to his very extensive collection, but also two essays by him, *On Progress in Art* and *Realism*. These are of prime importance, because they cast a light on Tolstoy's conception of art and on the ideas of all the art dissenters in Russia and the world over, if they are actuated by humanitarian views, as every artist should be, and not by personal, groveling ambition. According to Vereshchagin a realistic execution of a scene is far from realism if it does not include a distinct idea, a philosophic generalization. Hence he considered it his highest triumph when a Christian paper in London wrote about him, "These paintings are the work of a Russian, Vereshchagin, a painter equal to any of his contemporaries in artistic ability, and beyond any painter who ever lived in the grandeur of his moral aims and the application of his lessons to the consciences of all who take the least pain to understand him. I will only say that he who misses seeing these paintings will miss the best opportunity he may ever have of understanding the age in which he lives; for if ever the Nine-

teenth Century has had a prophet, it is the Russian painter, Vereshchagin."

Realism demands that one should not blindly follow the past, for, if Raphael was a realist, he scandalized his contemporaries by departing from the tradition of the primitive masters. As the ancients were bold in their innovations, in their desire to teach the truth, so must every honest artist harmonize his conscience with his perception of the truth. He has no right to compromise with his impressions simply because his matter-of-fact contemporaries cling to the traditions of the past. He cannot represent saints in costly garments and safely poised on clouds when he has the religious conviction of saints in the service of the poor and the scientific knowledge that clouds cannot support human beings. He cannot create the heroic figure of an emperor prancing on a charger through the thick of the battle, when he has seen him again and again seated comfortably in an armchair miles away from the battle field and leisurely watching the progress of the fighting through powerful field glasses. He cannot glorify war, when he has seen soldiers freezing to death over a distance of thirty miles.

The greatest error committed by those who follow old canons is due to their persisting to employ the same colors and the same light and shade which the old masters were obliged to use on account of the necessity of working within four

walls and with artificial and poor illumination. Vereshchagin in this respect completely departed from the usual procedure and painted his scenes only in the countries in which they were laid. It would never have occurred to him to paint Indian pictures outside of India, or Russian canvases anywhere but in Russia. And as most of his scenes are in the open, he generally painted them in the glaring sun or in freezing weather, as the case might be.

Vereshchagin regretted the low esteem in which art was held. It was merely a toy, to help the digestive powers, and paintings, like any other bric-a-brac, were merely used to fill empty spaces on the wall, whereas its function was that of educating and uplifting the masses. The artist was no longer a servant of the rich and mighty, but as a citizen and gentleman had some solemn duties to the people at large. The lower classes, the Socialists, who had been for centuries on the verge of starvation and who expected a new order of things to arise, would in their struggle with the upper classes spare no monuments of the past, no art. They would blow up public buildings, art galleries, museums and libraries. The only way out of the approaching danger would be for the rich to follow the teachings of Christ and of their own accord to divide up the riches with the poor. But that is a utopia that will not be realized.

The unavoidable will happen, and then it will be

the talents in art who will save the world. They will adapt themselves to the new conditions and will not allow society to lapse back into barbarism. Even before this time comes it is the duty of the artists to show to the rich that they are only lulling their consciences with false ideals, that they must return to the teachings of Christ, for their own good and for the good of humanity. The artist must agitate against war, because it is not Christian, and he must teach the lessons of Christian humility. If the artist, instead, is not heeded, and attempts are made to muzzle him, so much the worse for society, for the Vandals will burn Rome once more.

Vereshchagin was typically Russian. A nobleman by birth, he devoted all his energies to the service of the people. He started his career as a warrior, all his life to preach against the horrors of bloodshed. His artistic education was not of the orthodox kind. He did not stay long anywhere, and he revolted against the Procrustian methods of the academies. He started out as a bogatyr to storm against all fetters of art and of social conventions. His activity was prodigious. His paintings all brought together would in themselves fill a good sized museum. He was as savage as a bogatyr and he was as meek as a saint. If Tolstoy's *What is Art?* is impracticable, as his malicious critics say, then all of Vereshchagin's

paintings should be destroyed, for Vereshchagin did exactly what Tolstoy taught.

The Jew Antokolski and the Nobleman Vereshchagin shared alike the Russian idealism and spirit of Christian humility. Russia is indeed the country of the Lotus-eaters. He who has tasted of its intellectual food, in ever so small a degree, does not wish to return to the old associations. Here is Paul Trubetskoy, born of an American mother, brought up on the shores of Lago Maggiore, and until his seventeenth year a stranger to the country of his father. Yet the native instinct, inherited from his male ancestors, is fanned into a spiritual flame the moment he comes in contact with the kindred Tolstoy. He had shown decided talent in modeling while at home, but his parents wanted him to take up the military career and so sent him to relatives in Russia. Paul, however, did not find that calling to his liking and returned to Italy to study art, in a dilettante fashion, from Ranzoni, Barcaglia and Bazzaro. He did not stay long with any of them, because of his innate contempt for conventions and classic traditions. In 1886, at the age of twenty, he made his first appearance in art with an impressionistic representation of a horse. Passionately fond of outdoor life and of animals, he chose the horse and hound, wolf and bear, of which he had some pets, for his models. In 1894 he scored his first great

success with a statue, catalogued as "The Indian Scout," from his impression of an Indian rider in the Buffalo Bill show at Milan.

Having been successful with a number of seated and standing figures of living persons, he, in 1897, betook himself to Russia, where he was entrusted with the execution of similar statues for high personages. He met Tolstoy, with whom he had many points in common. Both loved nature and despised the restraints of society. It was the year that Tolstoy had published his *What is Art?* and the impressionable mind of the younger man was at once affected by the overpowering genius of the veteran author. Nor did Trubetskoy stop at ideas, as mere playthings of the mind. He carried out the injunctions of his master, not only in matters dietetic, for he became an ardent vegetarian, but also in matters of art. Henceforth he regarded it a greater triumph to convert a friend to the bloodless diet, than to execute a fine figure, for he considered the underlying humane principle infinitely more important than the mere physical enjoyment which art unfortunately conveys to most people. Even at a very recent time, while on a visit in America, he could not be induced to talk about his art, while he generously offered his time to speak before food reform societies.

Soon after his arrival in Russia, Trubetskoy was offered a professorship in the Academy of

Arts in Moscow. Brinton, the sympathetic critic and biographer of the artist, quotes his words in relation to this incident, which I shall give in full, as very characteristic of the man and the Russian attitude. "Urged to become professor of sculpture in the Moscow Academy, I at first declined the honor. While I thanked the director and faculty for having thought of me in this connection, I explained to them that, never having consented to have a teacher for myself, I could not dream of teaching others. I was working at the time on a bust of Tolstoy, and the master, to whom I confided my decision, gave his hearty approval, for he was the arch-enemy of everything that might tend to fetter the development of personality. Yet, after mature consideration of the proposal, I ended in accepting. Tolstoy was naturally astonished at my unexpected move, but when I told him my reasons, he concluded that, after all, I was perhaps right. As a matter of fact, by occupying the position myself, I foresaw that I could effectually prevent some other professor from exercising his influence upon the pupils to the detriment of their natural gifts and instinctive freedom from convention. I then went to the school and found there a large room so filled with casts from the antique that the pupils had only the narrowest sort of space in which to work. 'What are you doing with all this trash?' I exclaimed. 'Instead of going direct to nature

as you should, you are simply wasting your time copying other people's copies of nature. Great as the ancients may have been, they will never furnish you with the inexhaustible resources offered by nature in her infinite beauty and diversity. And, moreover, if these illustrious artists have left immortal master-pieces, it is merely because in their day they did nothing but faithfully interpret the material furnished them by life.' I at once ordered them to rid the atelier of the useless stuff and substitute in its place living models only. The students thus had room in which to breathe and work, and I did not bother myself about them any more. The outcome was very simple. When I came to the school there were some sixty pupils. At the close of the first term there remained only three. All that were not able to develop of themselves by reason of innate talent had left, and I verily believe that in the end there remained but one. Well, do you not think it was better so? As for me, I am convinced that a single true artist is worth more than any quantity of mediocrities."

Trubetskoy's art dogmas, if dogmas they can be called, are exactly the same as those of Vladimirov, or Vereshchagin, or Antokolski, or Tolstoy. He copies only what he sees in nature, but he endows his scenes with a deeper meaning than the mere form would suggest. He revels in the representation of animals, but he makes them

a part of a greater animated society, of which man is also a member. He loves to delineate the gentle domestic relations, the father or mother with their babes in their arms, or children at their favorite sports. Since he models only what he normally observes, the nude has no place in his art. He is not a prude, for he has reproduced the naked athlete and semi-nude danseuse. He simply does not drag in the antique, because it is not customarily observed in our northern regions. One of the most charming and realistic statues is that of his wife in street attire, and there are many beautiful statuettes of children. As he does not represent nymphs and naiads, who form no part of our lives or beliefs, so he thinks that each artistic production should bear its own intrinsic lesson, without those subterfuges to which artists generally have recourse, by selecting some high-sounding or classical name for it. He refuses to label his statues. To this rule he has made but one exception: beneath the figure of a pet lamb he wrote, "How can you eat me?" It goes without saying that the workmanship itself is distinguished by various impressionistic devices, in order to give as close an idea of reality as possible. But on this technical side of his genius we need not dwell here. It was sufficient for us to discover the great humanitarian principles which underlie his activity, the exquisite refinement of his ideas, the simplicity, truthfulness

and directness of his manner. These, coupled with a distaste for academic tradition and an unbounded love of freedom, stamp Trubetskoy as a typical Russian bogatyr.

V

RUSSIAN MUSIC, AN EXPRESSION OF A PEOPLE

IT is a curious fact that in music, as in social and political ideas, the democratic impulse has to a considerable extent come to Russia from the United States, and this is the more curious since America has not been able to contribute any musical theme or melody. Channing and Parker, Garrison and Ballou have greatly influenced Tolstoy in formulating his religious and political tenets; Harriet Beecher Stowe was responsible for the emancipation propaganda of Russia, which found its literary expression in the works of Turgenev and Grigorovich; and the emancipation of the serfs is a pendant to the abolition movement and contemporaneous with the Civil War. The impetus of the democratic ideals came from across the sea, but in every case the results were different, because in Russia the development of these ideals was transformed by the specific relation which democracy there bore to "the people." So, too, it was with popular music.

The biographer of P. P. Sokalski tells us that the foundation for his musical ideas contained in his work, *Russian Popular Music,* was laid in the United States, where he lived from 1855 to 1858. Soon after his return to Russia he began to devote his energies to the study of national music, and shortly before his death, in 1886, clearly formulated his conviction that Russia should have special chairs for national or popular music in its conservatories. Sokalski was only a mediocre composer, and his work on native music has since been superseded; our interest is not in the intrinsic value of his writing, but in the fact that he represents the conscious and unconscious attitude of the Russian musical composers to the creative genius of the common people. The author finds that the popular music was developed at a time when there did not yet exist the octave, nor major and minor scale, nor tempered intervals, nor harmony; that its special character consisted in its close union of verse and song; that it possessed its own measure and free meter, which coincided with the structure of the text; that it arose and developed without the slightest influence of the Græco-Roman civilization, which lay at the basis of the culture of the upper classes in the west of Europe. The study of the popular elements in music should lead to a Comparative Musical Archeology and Ethnography, for which end the Russian learned and musical societies should

give their active aid. To spread the same interest among the non-professional classes of society, the restoration of the popular music should be in the form of contemporary art, but with a strict adherence to the native element. Skilful transformations for the orchestra, such as Glinka's *Komarinskaya,* or for the opera would also have a powerful influence upon the dissemination of Russian popular music in society.

"The rich fund of the national musico-poetic creation, which seems to have accomplished its full cycle of development, must be accepted by the cultured classes as an inheritance from the people in this field, and must be made their own for the purpose of developing the musical art in the national direction. Only under such conditions will the civilization of the Slavic race acquire the desired completeness, originality and splendor, and will become equally attractive for Asia, whose elements have entered into the popular Russian creativeness. It is hard to expect that in an era of railways, steamboats, telegraphs, universal military service and howitzers the creative power of the people, which is closely bound up with the epic life of the masses and with the popular movements, will be continued or still farther developed. We are convinced that it has come to an end, having exhausted all the resources of native art. But since the Russian popular music represents a peculiar and independent

world with numerous musical and poetical distinctive features, we deem it necessary that in the Russian conservatories and musical schools not only harmony and counterpoint should be taught, but that there should also be there special chairs for Russian Popular Music. This would not only rouse in the Russian musicians an active interest in this particular style, the product of the national Russian genius in the arena of language, melody and rhythm, but would also prepare students for an intelligent, systematic and precise collection and notation of the monuments of the Russian popular music, which have not yet disappeared from the oral tradition of the masses. At the same time such instruction would cultivate in the teachers of the public schools a correct attitude towards popular music, which could then be introduced in all the public schools of the Russian Empire. In this respect the Russian song (in its local distinction north, south and west) would have a powerful influence in the unification and assimilation of the various elements of our realm into one common, independent civilization, in which the productions of the creative faculty would have a national character."

We do not know what American influence led Sokalski to become interested in popular music, but from the fact that he corresponded with Russian periodicals on American matters and contributed an article on "American public philan-

thropy," it may be assumed that the democracy in America appealed to him greatly. Of course, there was no need to draw for this from foreign sources, for Russia was full of progressive ideas in the '50's. In the case of the other great work on *The Peasant Songs of Great Russia,* by Madame Eugenie Linev, we know positively that the impetus was received in the United States, as is proved by the fact that the work, although published by the Imperial Academy of Science, was written both in Russian and in English, in order to reach the Americans as well as a native public. At the end of the last century Madame Linev made a tour through the United States with a band of peasant singers, whose remarkable concerts attracted public attention. "The idea of collecting peasant songs occurred to me in America, during my concert-lectures in New York, Boston, Chicago and other towns in the United States. The inquisitive Americans demanded original songs, as sung by the people and kept asking whether we sang genuine folk-songs. In replying 'yes,' I was troubled by the doubt whether I had a right to give an unqualified affirmative, although the songs were sung according to the best collections. And I determined, there and then, on returning to Russia, to devote my time and energy to the study and collection of folk-songs."

The incitement to "publish" the work came

from America, but the music of the people had long been the chief source of the Russian composers, of Glinka, Verstovski, Syerov, Blaramberg, Chaykovski, Dargomyzhski, Borodin, Rimski-Korsakov, but above all of Musorgski, while Balakirev, Rimski-Korsakov, Prokunin, Lopatin, Arkhangelski and Melgunov have made valuable collections and transcriptions of peasant songs. Nor could it have been otherwise. The interest in the people has been all-pervading in every field of intellectual and artistic endeavor, while in music the masses have furnished a treasure unsurpassed anywhere else in the world. In their childlike simplicity, the peasants have not yet subdivided the world of impressions, and melody and the accompanying words represent distinctly the sentiment that actuate them at a particular moment. Every important incident in life, marriage, death, work in the field, holidays, has its traditional series of songs, an accumulated mass of superimposed cultural ideas and feelings. The wedding ceremony, still lasting several days in some districts, has reminiscences of the days when the bride was stolen, when she was made a captive in the house of the mother-in-law, when she was sold, with utter disregard of the dictates of her own heart. What is particularly attractive in these outcries of the soul is their immediacy. They are not distant and conventional expressions of emotions, but the heartfelt emotions themselves

expressed in sounds which to them are merely a form of human speech. The musical composer had only to dip into this inexhaustible treasure of melody, to forget for a moment his obligations to a conventionalized and artificial musical code, and a new world of sensations lay at his command. Fortunately he had not himself been spoiled by too much Western schooling, and he could revert to his native, untutored creations, to conventionalize them for a society spoiled by civilization, in accordance with the possibilities and range of his genius. Hence the intimate relation that the leading Russian musicians bear to the collection, transcription, and adaptation of the music of the people.

But a very feeble beginning has as yet been made in Russia in the utilization of the music of the people, because its secrets have not yet been fathomed, and because the absence of the conventional in these songs tasks the powers of the greatest genius, in his attempt to reproduce that immediacy which is the part and parcel of peasant music. The chief difficulty is its polyphonic structure.

Some years ago it was my good fortune to hear a Gipsy band playing in an out-of-the-way place in the Carpathian Mountains. There were six or seven members, with violin, viola, 'cello and bass viol. It was obvious that they were not producing a set composition, but were improvising or enlarg-

ing upon a given theme. The leader indicated the melody and his assistants elaborated, seconded, retorted, quarreled with him, and the result was electrifying. One was present at the very creation of an unpremeditated musical composition, such as no company of trained musicians in a symphony concert could even dream of attempting. The Russian peasants stand as close to musical "nature" as do the Gipsies, hence their polyphonies are of the same character. The leader indicates the principal melody of a folk-song, or several persons sing it in unison, after which the secondary voices develop and elaborate the principal melody in accordance with their personal genius. This is not done in a mechanical or conventional way, nor is a repetition of the main melody ever sung in the same manner. There is not any submission of the individual performer to the tyranny of the conductor—the talent of each singer is perceptible through the mass singing. No assembly of artists could equal the vigor and depth of the sentiment expressed in music, because they have to be trained to merge their personalities in the perfection of the ensemble, while in the peasant chorus the sentiment actuating the whole is variously and simultaneously shaped into music in our presence.

It would, however, be unsafe to assume that the peasant music is due to individual initiative of peasant composers. The lower classes seldom

originate anything. They borrow readily and keep conservatively what they have acquired. Comparative literature shows, and comparative music will, unquestionably, also show, that the masses in Russia have during the Middle Ages not been entirely separated from artistic productions in the West. What has taken place is this: the peasants have a strong imitative faculty and gladly accept what appeals to their imagination. But they have inherited from hoar antiquity a predilection for certain musical modes, for example in the Hypodorian and Locrian scale, and they proceed at once to transform the borrowed material in the direction of their musical tradition. Their superiority to the trained musicians in the modern schools does not lie in originality of composition, but in the vigor, freshness, directness, simplicity, which are theirs, because they have not been spoilt by the conventional in our cultured existence.

No monuments of Russian music in the Middle Ages have been preserved, except those of the Church, and here the Byzantine style has been prominent. In the Eighteenth Century Italian musicians were trying in St. Petersburg to accustom society to Western music. Faint attempts were made by these and by Russian composers to introduce Russian surroundings into the opera, with songs taken from the peasants. But the results were insignificant. In the Church, however,

the Italian school found favor, and Galuppi became the founder of that sentimental and playful style reminiscent of the concert hall, which is still to be observed in the Russian divine service. Secular music made slow progress in society. At first the interest was centered entirely in light opera, and it was only in 1802 that the first Philharmonic Society was established. Since then the progress has been very rapid. Teachers of music, private bands on the estates of the magnates, home orchestras multiplied from year to year. The long series of third rate composers who had been furnishing the public with romances and cantatas in the Italian style came abruptly to an end by the entrance of Glinka on the scene.

What Pushkin was to literature, that Glinka came to be to Russian music. He turned his back upon the Italian opera and carefully studied Mozart, Cherubini and Weber, and was the first to divine the importance of the peasant songs for the formation of a national school. In 1836 he gained his great success with *The Life for the Tsar,* not only on account of the patriotic nature of the opera, but also because he here and there introduced familiar national melodies, in keeping with the nascent public and literary interest in the people at large. But in the later productions he did not maintain the same lofty attitude towards the national music, and wrote more in the Western manner, showing his obligations to Beet-

hoven and Mozart. During that period he became the creator of the Russian symphonic music. The most important follower of Glinka was Dargomyzhski, who had less training and talent than his predecessor, but surpassed him in his ability to endow his heroes with the dramatic element. If Glinka guessed at the importance of the popular music for the formation of a national school, Dargomyzhski was still more in keeping with the "natural" school then prevailing in literature, in that he preferred the bare and direct truth to conventional adornment in music. In 1856, when his *Rusalka* was put on the stage, he wrote: "The majority of our amateurs and newspaper scribblers do not recognize any inspiration in me. Their routine conception looks for melodies flattering to the ear, which I do not seek. I do not intend to lower music to the level of an amusement. I want the sounds to represent speech directly. I want the truth. This they cannot comprehend."

This sounds very much like a paraphrase of Byelinski's estimate of Gogol's works: "One may apply to the works of all the Russian poets, by stretching the point a little, the old and obsolete definition of poetry as Nature adorned; but it is impossible to do so in relation to Gogol's works. For these the more appropriate definition is 'a reproduction of reality in all its truth.' " Dargomyzhski, in conformity with his desire to

represent realistic truth, introduced the melodic style of the recitative, a kind of *aria parlante,* into some passages of his *Rusalka* and several of his romances, setting the pace for all the consequent composers of the Russian school of music.

The virtues and the faults of Russian music, like those of art in general, arise from the absence of tradition, which characterizes all public life and literature as well. Fortunately music has not yet become the vocation of a distinct class, with its laws worked out by ages of convention, jealously guarded by its experts, and cautiously transmitted to worthy disciples of the mystery. In Russia, music has been the avocation, the passion, the inspiration of leisure hours, and in the majority of cases these devotees have had but scant training and have been under no scholastic obligation to the coryphæi. The accumulated feelings need vocal expression; the smothered revolt would burst its bounds, and the musical bogatyr sets out in quest of adventure. His achievements are riotous and titanic. With childlike simplicity and vigor of manhood he lays his hands on everything, and he retains only as much as serves him at a particular moment. He is seldom consistent, and what he likes one day he denounces the next; but he is always true to the impulse of the moment and does not feign a sentiment that he does not experience.

Glinka more than any other Russian composer

of the early period devoted most of his time to his art, but his musical education was superficial and his interest in music intermittent, and in 1824 he accepted a position in a Government department. Though dreaming of the creation of a national school, he devoted himself toward the end of his life to Western models and, after a stay in Spain, produced his distinctively Spanish *Jota Aragonese* and *A Night in Madrid.* Dargomyzhski himself entered the government service in 1831, but he abandoned it soon for a precarious musical career, and in 1856 he significantly joined the society of non-professional musicians, Balakirev, Cui, Borodin, Rimski-Korsakov, who later justly received the name of "the band of bogatyrs" (moguchaya kuchka). These would storm the citadel of traditional music by a number of innovations. Truth, simplicity, nationalism was to lie at the foundation of their productions, and the dramatic performance, the stage setting and the musical idea were to be welded into one whole. Hence Dargomyzhski, in the use of the *leitmotiv,* attempted something of the same type as had been carried out on a large scale by Wagner. But Dargomyzhski did not consciously imitate Wagner. In his last great opera, *The Stone Guest,* he resembles more the contemporary German musician, Joseph Guber, whom, however, he did not know. This production has been the subject of much discussion in Russia, because, while it is

rich in vivid and expressive musical declamation, it is weak in musical contents. However, all the composers of his circle, especially Cui and Musorgski, have made use of the melodic recitative, as employed by him.

The only musician of any consequence who stood out as an opponent to the national school was Syerov, who did not begin his musical career until his forty-third year. He had received a brilliant general education and occupied a Government position, using his free time for a theoretical study of music. He was very active as a musical critic, attacking, now the new Russian school, now Wagner. But in less than two years he veered around, after a visit to this German composer, and not only tried to make him popular at home, but also composed an opera, *Judith,* in his style. As his obligation to Wagner was chiefly in the matter of form, and not in the musical contents, and as he introduced an extreme realism into his work, even though he did not favor "the band of bogatyrs," his *Judith* and his later *Rognyeda,* in which the Wagnerian influence is less perceptible, occupy an important position in the history of the Russian opera, because they occupy respectively the third and fourth place since the creation of a native opera by Glinka's *A Life for the Tsar.*

By contrast, Cui, professor in the School of Military Engineering, lecturer and author on fortifications, ultimately lieutenant-general, began

his musical career in 1856, at the age of twenty-three, with some symphonic scherzos, and gained his first decisive success with his opera, *William Ratcliff*, which, for its dramatic side, is based on Heine's tragedy of the same name. Only after this venture did he take up musical criticism, incisively attacking the academicians and warmly defending the principles of the national school. But, with curious inconsistency, his productions do not betray the narrower influence of the nationalists in the choice of his subject matter, until a much later time, when he abandons the opera for compositions to the Russian songs of Pushkin, Lermontov and Nekrasov. In his treatment of the vocal style, the melodic recitative and the rhythmic and harmonic methods he belongs distinctly to the Russian school, and his literary articles and his French work on music in Russia have done much for the popularization of that school both at home and abroad.

It was quite in keeping with the nationalistic tendencies of the new school of music that Balakirev, the leader of the "band of bogatyrs," in 1862, helped to found the Free Music School, in which he became the musical director. The serfs had just been emancipated, and everywhere in Russia men began to interest themselves in "the people," the large mass of the uncouth peasantry, which was supposed to have endless dormant possibilities. It was one of the tenets of the nation-

alists that art must not only proceed from the national data, but that it reached its highest perfection only in the service of the masses. It was the intention of the Free Music School to bring the benefits of the musical art to those who could not afford to pay the high admission price in the opera house, and to foster natural talent wherever it was found. The same spirit of a closer union between the artist and the people led Balakirev in 1866 to collect a number of popular songs and to provide these with delicately and tastefully composed pianoforte accompaniments. All the subsequent works of the nationalists show their obligations to this collection. Thus, for example, Rimski-Korsakov's *Pskovityanka* borrowed three themes from it. It is a curious fact that Balakirev's own compositions, *Tamara* and *Islamey,* the first of which was dedicated to Liszt, while the second was Liszt's favorite piece, are not based on native music or dramatic circumstance.

Music is the most universal of all the artistic activities, since the language of sound is accessible to at least all the European nations. Hence, the particularistic nationalism, although productive of a sense of immediacy and youthful vigor frequently absent in the traditional music, came in conflict with the academic conventions as soon as the composer succumbed to the ambition of a universal reputation, in place of his strictly na-

tionalistic ideals. In literature this happened to Turgenev who, departing from the slovenly form, but intrinsic purpose of the "natural" school for the greater perfection of the Western writers, became the first well-known Russian author abroad, but lost proportionately at home as an expounder of the national life. Something similar has happened in music with Rimski-Korsakov. He began his career as a sailor, at the same time devoting himself to music in the sense of the "Band," with whom he had become intimately acquainted. He scored his first success, while serving as a naval lieutenant, in 1865, when his symphony was given in the Free Music School. In his earliest production he adhered closely to the nationalist program—that music must not only be an accompaniment in the opera, but must also have an intrinsic value, and *Pskovityanka,* produced in 1873, belongs to the best tradition of Dargomyzhski and Glinka, even surpassing them in the purity of the native element and in dramatic depth and force. The same may be said of his second symphony, *Antar,* which is one of the best poetical productions of symphonic music in general. In 1871, while still holding his commission as a naval officer, Rimski-Korsakov was called to the directorship of the St. Petersburg Conservatory of Music. He still adhered to the tenets of his musical associates, and one of the results of his prolific activity in this direction was a collection of

folk-songs, besides numerous romances drawn from Russian literature. He became convinced that his theoretical musical education had been neglected and he threw himself upon the study of the classics, after which he composed a large number of impeccable operas and symphonies, but it was only in his unconscious moments that he at all reached the vigorous emotion of his *Pskovityanka.*

The most original of the "band of bogatyrs" was Musorgski, because he never compromised his philosophic and artistic preconceptions with egotistic ambitions of popularity. Although intended for a military career, he early in youth fell in with Cui and Balakirev and other musicians and devoted himself with passion to music. After having written a piano scherzo, at the age of twenty-two, in 1861 he made an impression by his *Intermezzo symphonique in modo classico,* which, however, in the middle part betrayed his predilection for popular themes. Musorgski himself pointed out the descriptive side of this production when he said it represented a crowd of peasants trudging through the snow and meeting a bevy of singing peasant girls. Dramatic force, sharp and characteristic delineations, boldness and realism of the musical form, and correctness of national setting are the positive sides of his musical genius, and these are joined with a carelessness in instrumentation, awkward accentua-

tion of unnecessary details, slovenly representation of human speech, and rhythmic, harmonic, and melodic unconventionalities, frequently intentional, so that even his own intimate, Rimski-Korsakov, considered it necessary to reedit and correct Musorgski's great opera, *Boris Godunov,* before it should reach the public at large. It is as though Walt Whitman were to be pruned and bowdlerized by Swinburne, or Lev Tolstoy were to be sent for correction to his critic Merezhkovski.

Musorgski was a characteristic son of Russia of the '60's. He revolted against the tyranny of any class, and he devoted all his artistic energies in the service of "the people." Hence he strove to represent the inner life, the musical emotion of the peasants, not only in a manner accessible to them, but also with utter disregard of the traditions of the science of music. Even as this principle of "art for life's sake" had intensified the contents, in proportion as it had weakened the structure, of the Russian novel, so the desire to keep in touch with the masses compelled Musorgski to depart from the conventional forms of music. He is to Russian music what Tolstoy is to its literature, and in America he more nearly resembles Walt Whitman in his all-embracing democracy. However acceptable Rimski-Korsakov's *rifacimenti* of Musorgski's *Boris Godunov* and *Khovanshchina* may be to the general public, it is imperative that

the original scores of the two operas should be made more accessible to the student of Russian music, not only for the light they shed on the extreme and unspoiled tendencies of the "band of bogatyrs," but also because they may contain elements, however uncouth, that music may well make use of, to save itself from artistic inanity.

The number of well-known composers who stand outside the group of the nationalists is very great. Glazunov, Lyadov, Lyapunoy, Arenski, Chaykovski, Rubinstein, Tanyeev, and the moderns, Rakhmaninov, Skryabin, Stravinski, and many more are to be found in Western repertoires, but they do no longer stand for anything distinctively Russian. The work of the bogatyrs was done. From absolute non-participation in the world's music in the Eighteenth Century, Russia has passed through her period of storm and stress and has befittingly taken a place in the arena of universal music. Within a century it has accomplished what it has taken many centuries to bring about in the West. Now the influence of the vigorous "band of bogatyrs" is making itself felt in other countries as well, for an interest in the people's music is perceptible all along the musical line. Just now Russia is passing through a state of musical self-satisfaction. It is more concerned about recognition abroad than about a missionary work at home. But the spirit of Musorgski is not dead, and the well-meaning efforts of his friend to

whip him into agreement with tradition will not for ever screen his democracy from a new generation of bogatyrs. The request made by Sokalski in 1886 and so urgently repeated by Madame Linev in 1906, that special chairs of popular music be established at the Conservatories will some day be heeded, and Russia will once more lead the world in the democratization of music and will give it that place in the State that Plato long ago had wanted it to hold.

VI

THE ESSENCE OF RUSSIAN RELIGION

A NEW religion successfully spreads among a people only when its tenets are in keeping with the higher moral code already hinted at or practised by those who are being converted.

The superiority of the Mohammedan propaganda in Africa over that of the Christians is due to the fact that Islam is based on tropical morality and takes into account those social institutions which have evolved in desert countries. Christianity began and spread there where the slaves, deprived of all earthly comfort by an overbearing civilization, sought for recompense in a hereafter. It was, therefore, at first coterminous with the Roman Empire, and Christian martyrdom is the inverse of Roman persecutions.

In the early centuries Christianity was active and direct. Its appeal was to the social instinct and the moral feeling, not to the mind. Its decline began in the Fourth Century, when it was removed into the field of speculation and was expounded by religious philosophers. It developed hairsplitting dogmas, to the great delight of the post-classicists.

Religion was no longer the immediate need of the heart, but the academic tradition of the Fathers, to be accepted implicitly as faith. Academic tradition creates dissenting schools, and Christianity, whose one great purpose is to unite all suffering humanity into a brotherhood, splits up into a number of warring heresies, to be supported no longer by the submerged masses but by the strong arm of the State. The clergy, as the expounder of the philosophy of religion, entrenches itself in orthodoxy by means of a powerful hierarchy, with the infallible chief keeper of the academic truth, and either dominates the secular State, if the latter is weak, or allies itself with the State, if it is strong, in order to gain temporal power.

The Christian impetus once given, the masses do not think of divesting themselves of the new teaching, but the faith no longer touches their spiritual needs. It has to do with externals only, and the more ignorant the people are, the more do they cling to mere observances as the proof of their orthodoxy. Christian morals affect them but lightly. There arises what is denominated as double faith, the pagan practises and morality, and the Christian profession and ecclesiasticism. This was the case throughout the Middle Ages, and this is the case at all times, where Christian teachings clash with worldly, un-Christian conditions.

The world is far from being Christian to-day. In reality it is pagan of the pagans. Materialism,

selfishness, vengeance, hatred, might rule the European nations, and the masses, for whom Christ came to bring consolation, are trained from infancy to become food for cannon. The most "civilized" nation rabidly preaches the reign of the sword and the mailed fist, while its academic teachers have etherealized Christianity to the vanishing point.

There come moments when the absence of a consoling faith based on actual practises becomes intolerable to the oppressed, and then they clamor for an individual share in that religion which the academicians and the priests have arrogated to themselves. These outbursts are known in history as Reforms. They have invariably been led by the people and not by the religious hierarchy. They have always been revolts against the religious robber barons. The Albigenses, Waldenses, Lollards, Hussites were the precursors of the later Reforms, which themselves have in turn been appropriated by the learned profession, leaving again the submerged to grope for themselves and reestablish a primitive Christianity. The Salvation Army and the spontaneous minor sects that arise here and there are continuing the tradition of the early Christians, each in its turn to be in time deprived of its democratic initiative.

Christian practise and Christian faith are two widely distinct aspects of religious truth. The Eskimo who lays by a double supply of fish, in

order to meet the need of some unsuccessful neighbor, who keeps his igloo open for invited and uninvited guests, who does not punish the transgressor, lest he turn a worse criminal,—is acting in the spirit of Christian charity; and no amount of dogmatic theorizing and religious observances can in this respect make a better Christian of him. On the contrary, if the incorporation of the Eskimos in the church is to be based on sectarian articles of faith, instead of the ethical principles, as evolved from their own moral code, they may lose the good which they have, without obtaining the benefits, which it is the fundamental purpose of religion to give. Nor do we have to go to the Eskimos for illustrations of this important fact. The peasantry of France is, according to Zola, grossly selfish, immoral, and dull, totally bereft of those virtues which are preached in the churches which they attend punctiliously. The literatures of all the European countries agree in depicting upper class society as possessed of weak moral stamina and frequently degenerate to the highest degree, though supporting, adorning, and promoting palacious temples to the God and His vicar, whom they profess to follow. The clergies of any denomination are not exempt from criminal dockets, any more than the flocks whom they charm with mellow words of religious truth. Though we are supposed to temper our laws by Christian morals, the lower elements of the cities are as savage in

their instincts as are the wild men of Darkest Africa.

There are those to whom order and system represent the highest accomplishments of human activities, those to whom obvious efficiency is a criterion of real progress. Men possessed of such minds love to ramble in Italian gardens, with their close cropped and fantastic hedges, and, like Dr. Johnson, abhor green fields and natural forests. These men grade civilization by the sum total of visible results, and recognize the salutary effect of a religion by the splendid churches, gorgeous divine service, organized charity, learned clergy, and refined congregations which they display. To such observers the condition of religion in Russia represents a sad and discouraging spectacle. With the exception of the superb cathedrals of the cities, built by the magnificence of wealthy patrons and supported by all the splendors of modern civilization, the churches of Russia harbor an ignorant clergy and superstitious worshipers, equally devoid of visible organization and cultural tendencies. And the more such observers study the history of the Russian Church, the more they become disappointed and turn away to the more brilliant spectacles represented in the West. Yet it may be shown that Russia has a germ of a far deeper religious consciousness than any other country in Europe, and that a few years of intellectual and political freedom will bring the Greek Catholic

Church so prominently to the front, that the older churches of Europe will find it very difficult to compete with it for real efficiency and widespread influence. Even before attempting the analysis of the Russian religion, it is possible to prove this thesis from general considerations.

Russia has shown a uniform weakness in the development of philosophic systems, not because the Russian mind is incapable of assiduous scientific labors, but because it abhors the philosophic void. Abstract philosophy has been the special prerogative of German scholars, who have in this field produced wonders. But their systems, although applicable for scientific theories, have seldom entered into the life of the nation. Hegel, Schelling, Nietzsche have far more affected the daily conduct of Russians, than they have that of the Germans. The study of Russian literature, art, science, political life is meaningless, if pursued without reference to the German philosophies which have directed the intellectual movements of Russia. The cause of this is temperamental. The Russian is not interested in the abstract teleological questions, but constantly wants to find the logical relation of life's duties to life itself. A French philosopher, who recently has subjected Russian philosophic ideas to a close scrutiny, has come to the conclusion that it presents endless new possibilities, because, in contradistinction with Western philosophy, it strives after a concrete

idealism. This characterization is just. As Vereshchagin objected to the representation of saints on flimsy clouds, so the philosopher cannot grasp an idealism which does not immediately give concrete results. He cannot deal with an ideal world. He is interested in the world in which we live, and only to such a world does he want to apply his idealism. The Russian philosopher is a relativist *par excellence.*

If art must be related to life, so must philosophy. As Tolstoy puts it: "Most striking is the deviation from the fundamental questions and their distortion in what in our time is called philosophy. It would seem that there is one question which is subject to the solution of philosophy, and that is: What must I do? To this question there have been some kinds of answers in the philosophy of the Christian nations, though these were connected with the greatest unnecessary confusion of ideas: such answers were those by Spinoza, by Kant in his *Critique of Pure Reason,* by Schopenhauer, and especially by Rousseau. But of late, since the time of Hegel, who recognized everything in existence as sensible, the question as to what we shall do has been put in the background, and philosophy directs all its attention to the investigation of what is, and to the subordination of this to a previously stated theory." But if philosophy is to give, not the answer to what life is, but what we shall do with the life which we have, then ethics

and religion are the only branches which can have any bearing on life, and nobody can be excused for ignoring them. The artist and the litterateur, the statesman and the priest, the professor and the layman must be equally interested in the matter. That such is the case, is amply proved by the whole of Russian life. Religion, not sectarian dogma and church observances, but the "concrete idealism" of philosophy is at the basis of everything good created in Russia, hence philosophy, as a separate branch is ill-represented, while as the background of literary and artistic activity it is ubiquitous.

The failure of this philosophy or religion—call it whichever you like—in the established Orthodox Church is due, as it has been elsewhere, to the fact that religion has been abstracted from the masses and has been entrusted to a selfish, ignorant, brutal, monastic, upper clergy. Fortunately for the masses, this clergy has never systematized its religion into an academic perfect whole, and the people, though ignorant and superstitious, have never been scientifically corrupted into blind worship of authority. A mere spark will enflame them, and religion will return to those for whom it is meant, without having to struggle against centuries of tradition and the insidious perfection of an ecclesiastic system. The signs are already in the air, and a distinguished Roman Catholic theologian, whose theology is tempered by pro-

found learning and a true spirit of religion, has in his many works on the Russian Church warned the Roman Church that in a very short time Russia must outstrip the Catholic religion of the West, unless the latter is willing to accept the same free spirit of discussion which is sweeping through the lower, the "white" clergy and the people in Russia.

When Prince Vladimir introduced Christianity into Kiev in the Tenth Century, the Byzantine Church had long before outlived the period of immediacy between the worshipers and their God, and had turned into a jealously guarded hierarchy, which prescribed strict observances and blind faith in their dogmas. This was unfortunate for Russia, for its religious experience was not widened by the new teaching, while the ecclesiastic code only imposed a mass of external obligations, which did not in any way interfere with the pagan practises of the people. The two religions lived amicably together, even though the Church hurled anathemas against the foreign gods. As the people could not provide any priests who possessed even a modicum of learning, the lower clergy which was from the start recruited among them, was chosen, not for its ability to expound the gospel, but for its readiness to submit to the dictates of the higher hierarchy and to act merely as animated prayer wheels on all those occasions when the masses could be mulcted for the support of the monastic

orders. What little education there was to be found in the country was centered about the abbeys, where the learned Greek monks and later the instructed Russian priests took refuge. But the monasteries were quite different from those in the West. Here they formed an asylum for what culture escaped from the ravages of ruthless war, or became havens for those who wanted to devote themselves to a contemplative and religious life. In Russia they were chiefly filled with parasites who found it more comfortable, under the guise of penances, to receive the ample gifts of the believers, than to eke out a miserable existence as parish priests.

All that there was to indicate that the monks, known as the black clergy, in distinction to the lay priests, the white clergy, were supposed to lead a more austere life than other men was the enforced celibacy, which was not even admitted in the case of the other priests. The monasteries reduced themselves into abodes of vice, and the monks, considering themselves as the privileged clergy, managed to keep the episcopal and other higher dignities of the land in their own hands. Thus there arose a breach in the Church from the start, the higher offices remaining in the possession of a corrupt closed corporation, while the parishes were left to ignorant, poverty-stricken priests, whose intellectual level was not above the ignorant congregations for whom they officiated. But in

this obvious dualism of darkness and darkness lies the germ of better things, as manifested in the activities of the white clergy within the last two decades. While the black clergy has constantly aligned itself with the Government, of which it became a bureaucratic branch, the parish priests remained in touch with their humble flocks, living their lives and knowing their needs. The religious future of Russia depends upon the share these men will have in the ecclesiastic councils, and the tendency is distinctly to widen their spheres of influence.

The troubled days of the Revolution in 1905 made the work of the parish priests in Petrograd exceedingly difficult and dangerous. It looked as though the popular party might win, and the priests could not determine whether it was their duty to stand by the people or by the obsolescent State. Thirty-two of the bolder clergymen published a memorandum which pointed out the impotence of the Russian clergy and demanded the establishment of a Church that would be free from civil control. To reestablish the organic freedom for such a Church they proposed the convocation of a National Council. This memorandum was widely discussed, and Prime Minister Witte warmly advocated the calling together of such a Council, because he felt that Peter the Great had reduced the Church to a political institution and

that the people could have returned to it the spiritual benefit of religion, only if the clergy and the laity were brought together without the interference of the State.

For our purpose the extremely active discussion which was provoked by the memorandum and the rescript lies in the fact that it accentuated the intimate relation which potentially existed between the white clergy and the masses, while the black clergy was throughout considered as occupying a position external to the people's religion. The consensus of opinion, within the Church itself, was in favor of opening the doors of the Council to the lower clergy and not allowing the bishops to determine policies and means and ways by themselves. Although there were divisions as to the part the delegated parish priests were to play, whether in a consultative or deliberative capacity, it was clearly pointed out that the Orthodox Church was an organism capable of development and that it was not represented by the clergy alone, but by the combined hierarchy and the people. Not too much hope is to be placed in the results to be obtained by this Council, because the Government will, no doubt, in the last moment nullify the spontaneous efforts of the nascent religious consciousness, but it is significant that the lower clergy is awakening to the needs of the masses and feels itself called to stand by the

masses and protect them against the arbitrariness of the closed body from which the bishops are chosen.

On the other hand there are signs that the people are beginning to take a personal interest in religious matters. Outside of the United States there is no other country so full of sects as is Russia. The parallelism of the two countries is, in this respect, due to the rationalistic sense of the masses, who want to interpret the gospel in a sense accessible to their intelligences. The sects, however, differ greatly from one another, in the same way as the conditions and the intellectual capacities of the two nations differ. In America the dissenting churches busy themselves chiefly with matters of interpretation and organization. The devotees of the various sects vie with one another in credos and in public effectiveness. In Russia, where the intellectual outfit of the believers is generally of a low order, the sects differ dogmatically in strange and sometimes grotesque articles of faith, but their importance is not in verbal interpretation, nor in the public organization, but in the immediate effect upon the individual. The sectarians are invariably better morally, because mere dissent, no matter how absurd its justification may be, frees the individual from the religious lethargy to which the corrupt Church has doomed him. Whether the sectarian is an Old Believer, who differs from the Orthodox members merely in

the way he makes the cross, or a Dukhobor, with a mystical explanation of the Gospel, or a Khlyst, who flagellates himself, he is invariably a sober, honest, hard working man, while the Orthodox peasant is shiftless, dishonest, immoral. As there is not the slightest difference in the ethnic relationship or the intellectual equipment of the two classes of believers, and as the Orthodox peasants improve immediately after defecting from the Church, the change so brought about does not depend on the comprehension of the religion, but on the initiative restored to the individual.

The Church has deprived him of every necessity of being answerable to himself for his acts, and he has delegated all his religion to the Church. He is shaken from his passivity the moment the religion becomes his own and he is obliged to interpret his acts in the light of the written word or to bring the written word into accord with his moral concepts. The whole history of dissent in Russia illustrates the importance of the democratization of religion for the masses.

The growth of the Muscovite Empire in the Sixteenth Century strengthened the religious nationalism as well, and the Church threw off its slavish dependence on Byzantium. Joseph, Abbot of the Monastery of Volokolamsk, preached a closer union of church and state, and demanded that the religious observances should remain as they had been practised of old, avoiding those innovations

which the Greek divines were advocating on the basis of the corrected texts, as they appeared in print in Venice and other Catholic places. As Joseph filled many of the influential places in the Church with his own monks, his conservative views prevailed throughout the country and helped to strengthen the people in their conviction that Moscow, the third Rome, was in possession of the true, unpolluted Christianity. When the learned Greek, Maxim, proposed to purify the Russian liturgy from the gross errors which had crept into it from imperfect and contradictory manuscripts, he was suspected of anti-nationalistic tendencies and was condemned to pass his days in confinement in a distant monastery.

Meanwhile the southern clergy in Kiev had come in contact with the Polish scholastic learning and began to appreciate the grammatical study of texts and the necessity of going to the Greek originals for doubtful passages. When Nikon, a century later, was made Patriarch, he braved the public outcry against innovations and undertook to compare the extant manuscripts and printed liturgical works with the Greek originals. Having convinced himself that the errors that had crept in must be eradicated, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the reform of the Church according to the Greek prototype. The people, who had cherished their religion as their own spiritual property, however ill they understood its higher mean-

ing, now to their dismay found themselves in opposition to their spiritual teachers, whom they suspected of deep-laid plots to deprive them of their national faith. To preserve their own, they dissented in the direction of stark conservatism, and we get in Russia the unusual phenomenon that the masses, in their desire to retain the true faith, do not ask for a revision of the sacred texts and church observances in the direction of reason or pristine purity, but for the maintenance of the traditional forms.

In the West every Reform has been initiated by the people for the purpose of freeing the conventional interpretation from accumulated errors and bringing the religious tenets in accord with the popular conception of the moral and spiritual truths contained in them. In Russia, where the intellectual development of the masses was of a low order, the dissent was not based on any interpretation, but on the need to keep the religion from any new interpretation and within the sentimental grasp of the people. The breach between the intellectuals and the masses, which historians generally ascribe to the political and social reforms of Peter the Great, in reality began with Nikon's innovations. The clergy, by accepting the corrections as ordered by Nikon and the Tsar, placed itself on the side of the Government and deprived the masses of the sentimental consolation of religion, while the believers divested themselves of

their immediate right in their faith by allowing an intellectual body to interpret it at their pleasure. The Orthodox masses who accepted the corrections without any opposition slipped into a vegetative religious existence, while those who fought for the maintenance of the corrupt tradition displayed the true spirit of dissent, busying themselves with individual moral reforms, and not with matters of exegesis. The Old Believers frequently quoted Saint Chrysostom's epigram, "The Church does not consist in church walls, but in church laws; if you flee to the church, do not run to a place, but to the counsel: the Church is not walls and a roof, but faith and acts." The Old Believers primarily were concerned with the vivification of the religious life, not with the continuance of the visible Church.

In their private lives the dissenters have distinguished themselves for their integrity of purpose and exceptional honesty, but in their attempts to interpret the religious dogma they have arrived at fantastic conclusions, which have led to grotesque and tragical results. The Old Believers were from the start confronted with the grave question of continuing the ecclesiastic hierarchy, as derived in uninterrupted succession from Christ, or else they were obliged to deny the necessity of all ecclesiastic sanction. They first crystallized themselves into the organization of the Priestly Dissenters, while the second, more radical

in their schism, became known as the Priestless Dissenters. Both parties began their departure from the innovations of Nikon by representing the Tsar and the Orthodox Church as the embodiments of the Antichrist, and they awaited the end of the world to come from this source at an early time. To hasten the general conflagration, they courted prosecutions, which would enable them to die the martyrs' death. Thousands immolated themselves in autos-da-fé, and when the suicidal mania subsided, they ran away to the inhospitable and inaccessible swampy regions of the Northeast, to devote themselves to their religious life away from the prosecution of the State. After many vicissitudes and internal dissensions the Priestly Dissenters have either returned to the Orthodox Church or have been absorbed by the more radical Priestless Schism.

The Reformation did not pass entirely unnoticed in Russia. Protestant preachers not only continued their propaganda in Moscow among the foreign population, but also tried to convert Russians. Several of these were struck by the superior morality contained in the teachings of the German divines and even outdid them in rationalism and moral force, when they worked out the newly acquired ideas into a complete system for the sects which they were founding. Theodosius declared all those to be sons of God who had accepted spiritual reason, while Kosoy said that all

were equal in the sight of God, even Tartars and Germans. Hence Kosoy considered baptism and confession as unnecessary. According to him, prayers were of no avail, because the Gospel ordered us to pray in spirit and in truth, and not to prostrate ourselves on the ground. Depart from untruth—that is all that is needed. There must be no priests, since Christ is the only teacher. Property must be held in common, and the true followers of Christ cannot acknowledge the State or wage war.

The Old Believers, who clung to the ritual of the Church and did not worry about the interpretation of the meaning of the religious tenets, and the sectarians, who not only turned away from the existing Church but even subjected the Gospel to a bold and untrammeled scrutiny, were alike convinced that the essence of religion was not in temples and vessels, but in acts. The sectarians were, however, freer in their attitude to the Bible, and so they added to the moral purpose of their faith the characteristic Russian intellectual revolt, which compelled them to carry the evangelical Christianity of their German predecessors to its logical consequence. Theodosius and Kosoy of the Sixteenth Century had a number of independent continuators, but the teachings of the evangelical Christians were not very influential among the masses before the Nineteenth Century, because they originated with those who could follow the

writings of the Western reformers and even studied Latin for the purpose. Far more popular was the sect of the "spiritual" Christians, because it had its origin among the people and was not dependent on book learning.

The origin of the "Christians," or Khlysts, as they themselves pronounced the word, is clouded in mystery. It seems to be related to the mystical teachings of Jacob Boehm which one Quirinus Kuhlmann tried to spread in Moscow in the second half of the Seventeenth Century. The Khlysts were recruited chiefly from the Priestless Dissenters, for they shared with them the stern commandments, "if you are unmarried, do not marry; if you are married, be divorced; drink neither wine nor beer; do not attend weddings and festivities; do not steal, nor scold." Their elaborate ceremonial provided for an earth-born Christ and prophets, and the meetings began with songs and dances. One of the prophets whirled about until he fell down exhausted, and then he began to tell the fates of those present. These sectarians soon deteriorated, because of their opposition to marriage. Having begun with restraint and ascetic practises, they soon abandoned themselves to the wildest orgies. Those who preferred to abide by the ascetic practises of the earlier Khlysts and saw no other way to escape from carnal sin except by self-mutilation, formed a new sect, that of the Skoptsy or Mutilators.

The Khlysts and Mutilators curiously found their way among the upper class society in the reign of Alexander I. This Emperor became in 1812 acquainted with the religious movements in England and in America, and fell under the influence of Quakers and Pietists. One of the important results of this new interest was the lifting of the ban against the sectarians. Society, aping the mystic preoccupation of the Emperor, took up the spiritual teachings of the peasant sectarians, and long rows of elegant carriages could any time be seen at the door of the "prophet" Selivanov, lately returned from exile. A historic explanation was found for the ecstatic dancing and the tenets were subjected to a revision to suit the needs of the intellectuals. These refined ideas in their turn affected the peasant sectarians, who no longer destroyed books, as they did in the beginning of their propaganda, but borrowed readily from the writings of the cultured, only to lead the new ideas derived from them to their stern, logical consequences. The Khlyst dogma was enriched by the mystical teaching about the mystery of death and the mystery of the resurrection. To solve the mystery of death, the sectarian Radaev taught that one must unconditionally resign one's personal will. A man must renounce himself, must divest himself of wealth, glory, honor, reason, desire, will. He must abandon education, philanthropic institutions, all laws and rules, and

devote himself entirely to the will of God, in the person of his Vicar.

The most interesting of the "spiritual" sects is that of the Dukhobors or Spirit Wrestlers. They had their origin in the second half of the Eighteenth Century, as it seems, in the propaganda of a Prussian sergeant who was supposed to be a Quaker and in the writings of a Little Russian philosopher and Mystic, Skovoroda. The latter drew his inspiration mainly from the teachings of the Bohemian sect of Abrahamites, and taught that Christ was not to be sought without, but within one's own soul. "If you do not first of all seek within you, you will in vain seek in other places." The Dukhobors accepted from his writings what coincided with their own conceptions, but, as is usual, carried the teachings to the furthest point. They taught that man had fallen from original purity and "must cleanse himself in the home of his spirit, so that he may not go far to the pool in Jerusalem." The Gospel, the sacraments, the religious observances had no meaning for them externally, but only in a spiritual way. The main thing was to practise love to God and to one's neighbors. Unfortunately the early Dukhobors did not live up to the dictates of an inner conscience, but surrounded themselves with visible explanations of their allegorical teachings, and even had among themselves an incarnated Christ. The sect broke up into several parts, the most

prominent being that of the Molokans or Milk-drinkers, who tried to combine the spiritual with the evangelical Christianity and accepted some of the injunctions of the Old Testament, such as the prohibition of eating pork and fishes without scales, and the substitution of Saturday for the day of rest.

At the present time the evangelical sect of the Shtundists is numerically and intellectually of greater significance than any of those mentioned above. It had its beginning in the south-west of Russia, in the neighborhood of German colonies, where the religious fervor of the Nazaræans and Jumpers found their expression in home-meetings, known as Stunde. In the '60's of the Nineteenth Century the peasants of the Governments of Kiev and Kherson formulated a Baptist dogma, uniting, however, the evangelical conception with the dominant spiritual ideas of the Molokans and other kindred sects. In 1891 the propaganda had spread to thirty provinces, but even earlier, in 1884, an attempt had been made by the Pashkovists of the North, who, under the guidance of Pashkov, an intellectual, had been basing their belief on the Protestant principle of justification by faith, to unite with the Shtundists into one great sectarian revival. It is interesting to note that American missionaries took part in this meeting, which did not lead to any definite results, both on

account of the Government's opposition and the impossibility of coming to an understanding on the question of baptism.

Every year sees the rise of new sects in Russia. In his work on the Russian Church, Palmieri gives the following account of those which have made their appearance since 1900. (1) "The sect of Free Faith or Readers. It is a sect with Lutheran tendencies which affects a great aversion against the use of tobacco and spirituous beverages. Pobyedonostsev considers it very dangerous because it criticizes the Orthodox Church and its clergy. (2) The sect of the Prophets, which celebrates the Saturday instead of the Sunday, repudiates the hierarchy, and causes its members in their exaltation to commit strange acts. It arose in 1901 in the Baltic Provinces. (3) The Sect of the Khekhulity or Kayuki was formed in St. Petersburg in 1901. They do not admit the worship of the sacred images, deny the real value of the sacraments, consider as absolutely contrary to the law of God to kiss the icons, to prostrate oneself in church, or to light the lamps. They practise in their assemblies a public confession of sins, those present placing their hands on the shoulders of the penitents and pronouncing a brief formula of absolution. (4) The Johnites, originated in the city of Orienbaum in 1901, believe that the Protohiereus of the Cathedral of Cronstadt, John Ser-

giev, called by the votaries of Russian Orthodoxy the Thaumaturge, is the incarnation of the Divinity."

The list is far from exhausted, but it shows that the same tendencies animate the new sects as those which we have found in the dissenters and sectarians from the Sixteenth Century on. The regeneration of the country in a religious and moral way will in all probability come from the Old Believers, both on account of their superior numbers and their less pronounced opposition to the ruling Church. They claim to have twenty million followers, but that number is probably exaggerated. However, they are present in sufficient force to have compelled the Government, by an ukase of April 17, 1905, to abandon the old persistent prosecution and to grant them rights only second to the Orthodox Church. Their parishes are legalized; their priests are freed from military service; they may found new churches, though by a later rescript they are not permitted to make proselytes among the Orthodox. The Old Believers have lately promulgated a remarkable program. They profess respect for all nationalities and all religions. They favor the Constitutional Party and wish to solve the labor question and bring about an economic reform by improving the condition of the proletariat. They want to encourage popular education, and violently oppose the use of tobacco and alcoholic drinks. The present prohibition of

the sale of alcoholic beverages, which so surprises the West and America and seems utopian is based on the popular demand for such a measure by the sober and industrious Old Believers. It is, however, doubtful whether the Government will succeed in reforming the masses as effectively as the dissenters have been doing by the mere force of example and religious conviction.

In religion, as in literature and art, Russia presents a chaotic state of individual endeavors to free conscience from the blighting influence of an absolutistic hierarchy, an earnest desire to apply to life the esoteric teachings of Christianity in place of external observances and unreasoning obedience to ecclesiastic authority, a rationalization of thought instead of fine-spun philosophic abstractions. Left to themselves, the dissenters and sectarians would soon sweep moral reforms through the country and even dominate the world by their exceptional heroic fortitude and moral fervor. But over the religious life of the people hangs the Damoclean sword of a benighted autocracy. Not until this is swept away will there be a full fruition of the innate high purposes of the Russian peasant bogatyr.

VII

THE INTELLECTUALS AND THE PEOPLE

IF there is one thing which the present cataclysmic conflict in Europe is going to teach it will be the lesson that universal education and culture are not the panacea for all evils that we have assumed them to be until now. When Prussia in 1717 for the first time put the secondary schools under State control, and still more when it in 1794 proclaimed that no educational institution could be founded without the consent of the State, it was generally accepted as a truism that Prussia led the world in educational matters and that the greatness of Prussia was proportionate to its interest and control of its schools. But if we cautiously examine the purposes of the Government in fostering the institutions of learning, we find that, in spite of the purely cultural effects which the very thorough educational institutions have had, the intent has been to put education under the control of the State only for its own advantage, and not for the unselfish development of individual powers. Every advance in the great system of German schools was conditioned by political causes. Compulsory education was first made absolute after

the disaster of Jena, and the revolutionary movement of 1848 was no sooner crushed than all teachers were declared to be civil servants, thus virtually becoming bureaucratic officers of the State. Again, after the Franco-Prussian war, in 1872, Prussia emphasized once more the absolute right of the State to control all its schools.

German philosophers and schoolmen have been busy expounding to the world the superiority of intellectual Germany to any other country, because of the thorough-going methods employed by it in the education of the masses. Their conviction was, no doubt, honest so long as the political and industrial progress of Germany followed its educational concentration and thoroughness. But the uniformity of method and curriculum and the persistent, all-absorbing drill have deprived the nation of individual initiative and have made the Germans the most docile of slaves of the intellectual and political hierarchy. The State fosters the highest culture, and the representatives of culture slave for the glory of the State,—this is the magic circle in which the German mind moves. This interaction of State and culture has produced a splendid shell, of which the kernel is atrophied. The personal will is gone, and its owner is a pliable instrument in the hands of the powers that be. Moral honesty has no meaning when it does not serve the immediate purposes of the State, and even theologians twist their consciences so as

to bring them in line with acts that lead *ad majorem Germaniae gloriam.* The highest achievements of the intellect do not react upon the moral side of man, and they are the higher in proportion as they remain mere toys of the intellect. Hence the philosophic abstractions have the greatest charm for the Germans. The great moral upheavals that agitate the outside world touch them but lightly. They, too, lucubrate over social reforms and greater democracies, but their political enthusiasm is rarely roused outside of medieval potations. They know the laws of Christian morals, but in the interest of the State that needs a warlike spirit they cling to the duel as a pastime for gentlemen. Modernism and medievalism, the highest external culture and a comatose morality are coexistent, and in no way exclude one another. Both are produced by the same splendid educational system.

No one can deny the intellectual accomplishments of Germany in the Nineteenth Century, and Russia, even more than any other country, owes its intellectualism to German science and philosophy. But the Russians have consistently declined to practise mental rope-walking, and have invariably applied the dicta of German science towards a strengthening of their moral fiber and the assertion of individual liberty. Every borrowing from abroad has immediately intensified the literary activity, because here, and not in scientific abstrac-

tions, did the nation learn of its moral needs and social problems. Russian literature is not only exceedingly individualistic, but also profoundly religious in its tenor. It voices the national revolt against the tyranny of tradition and it tries to give an answer to the religious promptings. One-sided critics have, on the one hand, pronounced it to be a literature of nihilism, anarchy, negation, and, on the other, a literature of pity. It is both and a great deal more. It is a true mirror of the native soul. If every other monument of the nation's life would disappear it would still be possible to reconstruct minutely the intellectual and moral tendencies of Russia in the Nineteenth Century from its belles lettres alone. There is not one step in its development that is not directly influenced by some German philosophic system, yet how vastly different the results are. Magna Graecia produced the great men who developed their activity in Greece, and Germany has found a fruition of its philosophies in Russia, because the philosophic abstractions had there a better chance to become concreted. This process was there made possible because of the absence of a perfect school system.

Education is not the undivided blessing that it is supposed to be. It is necessary for the advancement of life, and there will always exist a class of society that is the keeper of the best that the intellect has produced. But there are moments in a

nation's life when mere academic education may become very dangerous. Last year the university's billboard at Munich cautioned the students that there would be no use for the next ten years to take the teachers' examination, because the waiting list provided for possible vacancies for the next twenty years. What is to become of the hundreds of educated men for whom no corresponding positions can be found? They soon form an intellectual proletariat, in Germany as in Bengal and in Russia, and an intellectual proletariat always furnishes the chief elements of a revolution. How if one of the latent causes of the present war is this necessity of thinning the ranks of the dissatisfied? This possibility is not at all excluded. Youthful as Russia is, it has already had a surfeit of educated men without any outlook in life, not because there is no need of well-trained men, but because mere college culture does provide the practical information which the country is as yet able to put to good use. The Government sees this clearly and has of late discouraged the universities and is devoting its energies to the development of purely professional schools, polytechnics, agricultural, mining schools, etc. It cannot be denied that the Government has been grossly negligent of the people's primary education, but it is almost fortunate that the popular instruction has not heretofore been carried on on a large scale, because the nation has escaped the

blighting influence of that moral attrition which is obviously the result of the German compulsory education.

Because of the comparatively high and essentially individualistic culture of a small minority on the one side and the almost complete absence of schooling on the part of the many millions of peasants, the Russian nation is cleft into two distinct elements, respectively denominated as the intellectuals, *Intelligentsiya,* and the people, *Narod.* Though the second, through education, may pass into the first, the two classes of society have their distinct interests and purposes. The reforms of Peter the Great created the two great divisions, which in the Eighteenth Century grew further and further apart. The upper classes were busy imitating and adapting Western manners and education, which only accentuated the distance between them and the unlettered masses, for whom the reforms had no meaning. The peasants and the old merchant class persisted in the habits and ideas of the period before Peter, while the intellectuals acquired, at first the vices, and later the refinement of the Westerners. There were practically two nations in Russia, and even then the shrewd observer Shcherbatov complained that the Emperor's enactments had weakened the native virtues, because flattery, voluptuousness and selfishness actuated those who wanted to please the court, while the common men lost their religious

faith, without getting anything in its place. Even though at the end of the century Radishchev pointed out the abyss which lay between educated society and the inert masses, the time was not ripe for any rapprochement between the two, and they went on developing, each in its own way. It is only in the Nineteenth Century that the intellectuals first became conscious of their social duties and groped for an understanding of the classes below them. The Nineteenth Century is characterized by a feverish activity to restore the equilibrium between the intellectuals and the people which Peter the Great had disturbed by his violent Europeanization of Russia.

The American and French Revolutions did not entirely pass unnoticed in Russia. Young men dreamt of the possibility of a republic or at least a constitutional form of government, and lightly discussed such a possibility in various literary societies which then existed in Russia. Then came the Napoleonic invasion, and after Napoleon's defeat a large number of Russian officers had an opportunity in the West, especially in Paris, to convince themselves of the superiority of Western culture. Upon their return they devoted themselves with greater zeal to the propagation of their democratic ideals, and when Alexander I died, they seized the chance during the brief interregnum to start a revolution. The effort was foredoomed, for a handful of young officers could not count on an

ignorant, though perfectly willing soldiery. When asked to shout for *la Constitution,* the soldiers wanted to know what the name of her Royal Husband was. The uprising was nipped in the bud, and the flower of Russia's youth was exiled to Siberia or paid the death penalty. A few years before this historic incident the poet Griboyedov immortalized the noble but futile tendencies of the nascent democracy in the character of Chatski, in his drama *Intelligence Comes to Grief.* Chatski harangues against the subserviency, immorality, arrogance of courtiers and officials, and while he opposes to the negative sides of contemporaneous life the positive impressions which he has had in his foreign travels, he in reality does not accomplish much because, as the title indicates, too much intelligence was at that time not yet a fortunate asset. Society, none the less eagerly devoured the drama, which circulated in hundreds of manuscript copies, on account of its biting satire against the prevailing order and on account of the hope which it held out for better things.

Ten years later the critic Byelinski condemned Griboyedov's tendencies, under the influence of Hegel's philosophy which then held sway in Russia. Hegel's formula about the reasonableness of everything in existence fell on willing ears, for after the unsuccessful attempt of the Decembrists a reaction naturally set in, and with characteristic native repugnance for collective action, which we

shall meet again and again, Byelinski about this time wrote with full conviction, "Only in philosophy will you find answers to the questions of your soul,—only philosophy will give peace and harmony to your soul. Above all, leave politics alone and avoid all political influence upon your manner of thinking. Politics has no meaning for us in Russia, and only empty heads can busy themselves with it. Love what is good and then you will certainly be useful to your country, without any attempt in that direction. If every individual in Russia would reach perfection by means of love, then Russia would become the most fortunate country in the world without any politics."

Byelinski thus well summarized the inherent desire for individual perfection, which forms the fundamental characteristic of all the strong heroes in the Russian novel, and which Tolstoy later raised to a dogma of religion. But the suspicion cast upon every outward manifestation of this goodness not only causes these heroes to look awry at any concerted political action, but also fills them with misgivings lest their visible good acts might be interpreted as mere specious ostentation. Besides, self-perfection is limitless in possibilities, and the goal is never reached. Hence all the heroes of the Russian novel suffer from the same shyness and vacillation, and their acts are seldom in keeping with their high purposes. Even in the first hero in the Russian novel, Evgeni Onyegin, in

Pushkin's poem of the same name, which was written ten years before the appearance of Byelinski's criticism of Griboyedov, we find the negative sides of Russian society boldly brought to the front. Onyegin leads a useless existence. He finds no satisfaction in active work, and although he is ready to meet the rising question of his relation to the peasants by lightening their corvée, he does not do more than merely assuage his immediate pricks of conscience. He is a "supernumerary," a man for whom there is no organic place in the state. Lermontov's Pechorin, in his *Hero of Our Time,* has just such a useless existence, but he has higher aspirations than Onyegin. He tries to solve the irritating questions that torment him, and he lays bare the faults of his soul with unsparing candor. The doubts that agitated the intellectuals at the end of the '20's are well expressed in Pechorin's own confession: "From the storm of life I have carried away but a few ideas and not one feeling. I have long ceased living with my heart,—I live only with my head. I weigh, analyze my own passions and acts with stern curiosity, but without sympathy. There are two men in me: one lives in the full meaning of the word, the other reasons and judges him."

In the first third of the Nineteenth Century the intellectual forces were chiefly recruited from the upper nobility. The young men nearly all entered the military service, and their lives moved in the

inane circles where, indeed, their aspirations were smothered, and the Childe Harold attitude was only natural. The '40's no longer put forward the useless heroes. There was a real desire to do something, although the goal of accomplishments was still as far as ever from their reach. The intellectuals had now their accessions from the lower nobility, and even the burgher class might occasionally be found represented among them. The form of public opinion now shifted from the salons to the intimate circles, where the best minds sharpened their wits in endless discussions, although, like their predecessors, they lacked initiative and seldom made their words good. But they were all animated by the purest intentions and the highest idealism, which was directed to the one absorbing question: the Russian nation. The advancement of the people along the best lines formed the constant subject of discussion, and starting with the same premises the circles were split into those of the Westerners, who wished to see the progress of their country in a greater approximation to the more cultural West, and into those of the Slavophiles, who believed that Peter the Great had failed in his purpose of reform, because he had violently interrupted the natural process of advancement by superimposing upon Russia a foreign civilization.

The Slavophiles started with the same philosophic premises as the Westerners. In the '20's

a small circle of enthusiasts formed philosophic clubs, for the purpose of discussing the best philosophic system for the country. A decade later these young men, under the guidance of Kiryeevski, fell under the influence of the mystic teachings of a monk who had just returned from Mount Athos. Kiryeevski opposed to the Western form of philosophy, which to him was but an evolution of scholasticism, the Christian mysticism of the Eastern Church, and this latter was to give him a basis for a nationalistic program. In the beginning of the '40's the brilliant activity of the publicist Herzen and the critic Byelinski, which was exerted on the side of a greater approach to the West, compelled the younger Slavophiles to entrench themselves into some other philosophy than that of Hegel, which was the battle-ground of the Westerners. They chose to fall back on Schelling's positive ideas. At first the two parties met amicably in the parlors of certain patrons of culture, in order to oppose each other with dialectic fireworks. But after 1844 the two groups assumed a hostile attitude toward one another.

The Slavophiles raised the banner of Orthodoxy, autocracy and nationality, but in the beginning this trinity did not represent such a violent opposition to the tenets of the Westerners as it was later. Under Orthodoxy they understood a development of the mystical Christianity

which might have landed them among the "spiritual" sectarians. The autocracy they considered as necessary only in so far as it saved the nation from busying itself with politics, while the nation was to develop itself from within without interference of the Government. They declared it to be an advantage to Russia that it had not come under the influence of the Roman culture, but had received its religious inspiration direct from the East. Hence it was the problem of the intellectuals to restore to the masses that immediacy with primitive Christianity which had been interrupted by Peter's reforms, and science and art should be evolved from the rich endowment of the native genius. The Revolutionary movement of 1848 in Austria brought also the Panslavist tendencies within the range of the Slavophile movement. They hoped that with the dismemberment of the Austrian Empire the Slavs would come into their own, and that they should be cautioned against a hasty acceptance of Western culture. But the Panslavist agitation never went beyond an expression of sympathy for the Orthodox brethren of the South, while it at once roused the suspicion of the Russian Government, and the Slavophiles were subjected to many annoyances. The native costumes and long beards, which the enthusiasts affected as a visible sign of their return to pre-Petrine civilization, were prohibited, and several of the more active members of the or-

ganization were imprisoned, because they were suspected of democratic activities. Meanwhile the Government seized upon the idea of Orthodoxy, autocracy and nationality as especially suitable for its own purposes, and the Moscow Slavophiles unthinkingly modified their liberal ideas in the direction of an abject reaction.

Though the attempt to bring the country back to antiquity was doomed to failure, it cannot be said that the Slavophile movement was totally useless. Even the Westerners learned to be more considerate for the popular element in life and thought, and some of the greatest of Russian authors, such as Dostoevski and Tolstoy, show distinctly the beneficent effect of a closer union with the people. Turgenev, an outspoken Westerner, became disgusted with the inane haranguing of those who preached an unconditional merging with the culture of the rest of Europe, and even created a more positive hero from the Slavophile camp. Two of his novels deal with the intellectual movement in the forties, *Rudin* and *A Nest of Noblemen.* The first deals with a typical hero of his own camp, while in the second he typified the Slavophiles in the person of Lavretski. Of the latter novel Turgenev himself said: "I am a rabid, incorrigible Westerner, and I have never made a secret of it; yet, in spite of it, it has given me especial pleasure to bring out in the person of Panshin all the comical and contemptible

sides of the Western movement and to let the Slavophile Lavretski beat him on all points. Why have I done so, since I consider the Slavophile teaching to be false and fruitless? Because in the given case life actually developed in this manner, as I understood it, and I wanted above all to be sincere and fair." Turgenev could not help observing that those who wanted to be considered refined Europeans were none the less actuated by a native inertness which paralyzed their endeavors and ultimately relegated them to the fatal passivity so aptly described by Goncharov in his novel *Oblomov*.

The Slavophiles, at least, strove to put themselves in touch with the people, to comprehend their actions without the blighting criticism of a supercilious superior culture. Indeed, they had discovered the characteristically Russian village commune, the Mir, and they were studying the peasant folklore. They were the mediators between the intellectuals and the people, and they prepared the road for that intensive interest in the lower classes which in the '60's found its expression in the literary activities of the Populists or Narodniks.

The term Narodniks did not come into use until the '70's, but the preoccupation with the peasant dates from the '50's, when the academic discussions about the emancipation assumed a serious aspect. The emancipation of the year 1861 was

the result of an awakened consciousness of the injustice of serfdom, as prepared by the Slavophiles and the rising democratic sentiment. The intellectuals no longer represented the upper classes, as in the '20's and '30's, but were a heterogeneous mass, with a sprinkling from the merchant and peasant classes. They naturally stood nearer to the people than their predecessors, and the democratic movements of the West found a strong echo in them. But it was not easy to overcome the traditional contempt for the slave, and an approximation between the educated and uneducated was exceedingly difficult, because of the totally different psychology of those trained in Western thought and those thoughtlessly clinging to the soil. The appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Russian brought about a series of sketches dealing with peasant life, especially those by Turgenev, and the Government soon felt itself obliged to take notice of the overwhelming popular sentiment in favor of the freeing of the serfs. In 1856 Emperor Alexander II, addressing the Moscow nobility in regard to the serfdom, said: "It is better to abolish serfdom from above than to wait for the time when it will begin to be abolished from below." The Emancipation was a preventive measure, so far as the Emperor was concerned, in order to ward off the coming Revolution. This is best proved by the activities of the year 1861 and 1862.

No sooner had the half measure, known as the Emancipation, been proclaimed, when the Revolutionary party began to stir. Mikhaylov issued his proclamation to the young generation in which he expressed the nation's disappointment in the Government's act: "When the manifesto was ready and all but promulgated, the Russian Government first of all lost heart: it was afraid of its own work,—what if all Russia should rise in rebellion? If the people should march against the Winter Palace? So they determined to proclaim freedom to the people in Lent, while the booths for the Butterweek were carried as far away from the palace as possible. . . . If the Government was afraid of the people, it had good reason to be. In the first place, the Tsar has deceived the expectation of the nation by giving it a different kind of freedom from what it dreamed of and needed. In the second place, he deprived it of its joy by promulgating it at Lent and not on February 19. In the third place, by organizing commissions to compose and discuss the project the Tsar has shown his utter contempt to the whole nation and to the best, that is, the most cultured, honest and capable, part of Russian society, the National Party: everything was done in the deepest secret; the question was settled by the Tsar and the landed proprietors; no one in the nation took part in the work, the periodicals did not dare to utter a sound,—the Tsar gave the

people their freedom, as a favor, just as one throws a dry bone to a growling dog, in order to soothe him for a while and save one's calves."

Persecutions and violence of every kind had been practised by the Government for some years past, but the year 1861 is extraordinary for its many disturbances, showing conclusively that the Emancipation was merely a preventive measure, in order to choke the efforts of the Nationalists, who issued proclamation after proclamation to the soldiers, the peasants, the youths, the people. In many districts the peasants revolted after the Emancipation, and the Poles broke out in open rebellion. The University of St. Petersburg was closed, and a large number of men were arrested and exiled to Siberia by the well-prepared Government. Even the nobility was dissatisfied with the Emancipation and demanded a larger share of freedom for the people. The secret printing offices of the National Party, founded in 1861, continued their activity the next year, and the Government answered with more persecutions and arrests.

The program of the Revolutionists was a mixture of moderate republican and extravagant social-democratic principles. It demanded the formation of a republican federation, with the agricultural community as a unit. There were to be no vested rights in the land, and private property would revert to the State at death. Na-

tional and District Councils would approximately carry on the same functions as the American National and State Legislatures. Children were to be educated at the expense of the State, and the feeble and old were to be taken care of in a similar way. Poland and Lithuania were promised their full freedom, and every district was to determine by popular vote whether it wanted to enter into the federation. Women were to be made absolutely free, and marriage was to be abolished, as in the highest degree immoral and absurd in a state of equality of the sexes, hence, too, the family should cease to exist, as incompatible with the abolition of inheritance.

To carry this program into effect, the Revolutionists counted on the cooperation of the people, especially the Old Believers, and upon the army, but especially upon the educated youths. Noble as their purposes were, the movement was doomed to failure from the start, even if the Government had allowed the propaganda to go on. But for a few isolated cases, the soldiers could not be depended upon for any support in so extreme a political agitation, while the Old Believers could certainly not have subscribed to the encroachments upon the family. There were only left the inflammable young men, who had been going into the direction of materialism under the prevailing influence of the German materialistic writers Moleschott and Buechner. Turgenev has given us

the type of the Nihilist Bazarov, as a representative of the very earnest, but unlovable materialists of the '60's, who wanted to destroy, before it was possible to think of building up again. However, the Nihilists of the '60's were vastly superior to the dreamers of the '40's. They had definite aims before them, and their interest in the people was more immediate, if still incorrectly posited.

The intellectuals no longer stood aloof from the masses, for whom they professed to develop their activities. Thus, already in 1860 the first Sunday schools were opened, that is, schools for the instruction of the peasants who had no other chance of getting an education. It became ever clearer to the Revolutionary intellectuals that it was necessary for them to push their propaganda actively among the masses, chiefly by means of schools and libraries, if they were to accomplish an overturn of the Government. This was brought out in the condemnation of Karakozov, who in 1866 made an attempt upon the life of Alexander II. Soon after, the Revolutionists abroad openly declared that their program was based on the demands of atheism and materialism, and that it had in view the social amelioration of the masses, without and reference to the political fate of Russia. They recognized the fact that in Russia the distance between the intellectuals and the people was too great to make a

revolution successful without first getting into closer contact with the masses. Hence they preached the necessity of going among the people. In 1874 this part of the program was in full force: the intellectuals worked as common laborers in factories or established themselves as shoemakers, joiners, village teachers, in order to carry on their revolutionary and educational work more vigorously. This widespread agitation ended as abortively as the preceding one. The Government ferreted it out through its spies, and 770 persons were arrested and severely treated, a large number being sentenced to hard labor in Siberia. But the stupidity of the Government in subjecting well-meaning, even though extreme, enthusiasts to indignities not even practised on common criminals, had the usual opposite effect,—in place of the pacific Narodniks, the remnants of the propagandists banded themselves together into the sinister Terrorist organization.

The active propagandists of the early '70's could hardly muster more than two or three thousand members, though the sympathizers among the Liberal elements of society may have numbered several millions. However restricted the organized body of the Narodniks was, the phenomenon was not due alone to the initiative of the socialistic Internationale which served it as a model, but to the specifically Russian tendency

to carry conviction to its logical conclusion. Though the men who went among the people claimed to be actuated by atheistic and materialistic principles, they in reality were noble, self-sacrificing, deeply religious idealists. In the West the Socialists have mainly appealed to the selfish instincts of the workingmen, as against the selfish and arrogant attitude of the upper classes, in their attempts to bring the propaganda to a happy issue, and have generally considered the ballot as the proper means of gaining a preponderating influence in the state. The Socialist movement has there been exclusively a movement of and for the industrial workers. Naturally the absence of universal suffrage and the weakness of the industrial life in Russia made the Western type of socialism an impossibility. Hence it was turned at once into an agricultural reform, to be obtained ultimately by revolutionary methods. Materialistic though the basic principles of their actions were supposed to be, the intellectuals were sacrificing themselves, not for the ends which they personally were to obtain, but really for the good of the masses. In fact, the program of the Narodniks never made it clear what was to become of the intellectuals in the new state, and there did not even seem to be any place left for them. They were doing unto others far beyond what they ever could expect the others to do unto them.

They had the faith and fervor of Christian martyrs, and a future free Russia will count them among her saints.

Toward the end of the '70's all the Socialistic factions were not only primarily revolutionary, but did not even recognize any other mode of procedure. After the terrible repressions practised by the Government in 1877, the members of the society Land and Freedom replied with the assassinations of Chief of the Gendarmerie Mezentsev and Prince Kropotkin and similar attempts upon members of the Secret Police. The organization thus became terroristic. While still clinging to the Socialist program, the precise form it would take in Russia was left to a future time. All that was considered important was to put the agrarian question in place of the industrial question of the industrial Western countries, hence the motto—Land and Freedom. The Terrorists of the society were thoroughly organized into an administrative division which had in hand the whole movement, provided its members with false passports, etc.; the Propagandist groups, which carried on their work respectively among the intellectual youths, the laborers and the peasants; the Disorganizing Group, the Terrorists in the narrower sense, whose chief activity consisted in the liberation of members under arrest and their defense against Government persecution, as also the ferreting out and killing of spies within

the organization. Two years later Land and Freedom divided up into the Popular Will and The Black Assignment, that is, the Land.

The first party considered the popular will as the determining factor in the coming Revolution, hence their chief aim was to "take the power away from the existing Government and to turn it over to a Constitutional Assembly, which is to examine all our political and social institutions and reorganize them in conformity with the instructions of its electors." While willing to abide by moderate constitutional measures, the party none the less drew up a program which, like the previous ones, demanded greater territorial rights, the preservation of the village commune and the agricultural units, absolute freedom of conscience, speech, printing, meetings, associations and elective agitations, universal unlimited suffrage, and the substitution of a territorial for the permanent army. The propaganda was to be carried on, constructively, by means of persistent educational agitations preparing the various classes for the democratic political revolution, and by means of a destructive and terroristic activity. The latter should consist in the assassination of influential members of the Government, etc., as carried on by the original organization of Land and Freedom. The new party still recognized its direct relation to the peasant, and so the main propaganda was to be carried on in the

village. The heart of the organization was the Executive Committee, which maintained secret circles in the army and among workmen, who now for the first time were drawn in more directly into the general conception of the "people."

On March 1, 1881, Emperor Alexander II was killed by the Socialists, and the Executive Committee issued an appeal to Alexander III, asking for nothing more than a constitution, in order to avert future assassinations. It is characteristic of the very moderate aims of the Popular Will that, when the same year Garfield was assassinated by Guiteau, the Executive Committee issued the following statement to the world: "While expressing to the American nation its deep sympathy on the occasion of the death of President James Abraham Garfield, the Executive Committee considers it a duty to issue, in the name of the Russian Revolutionists, its protest against such violent measures as the attempt by Guiteau. In a country where personal liberty offers an opportunity for an honest struggle of ideas, where a free popular will determines not only the law, but also the personality of its representatives, political assassination, as a means of struggle, is an expression of the same spirit of despotism as the one which we consider it our problem to destroy. The despotism of the individual and the despotism of a party are equally prejudicial, and

violence is justified only when it is directed against violence."

It is obvious from this profession of faith that in any constitutional country, especially in the United States, the members of the Popular Will would not have risen above impassioned speeches in favor of constitutional rights, while in Russia the senseless brutality of a reactionary Government drove them to the heroic activity of a Brutus, a Wilhelm Tell, whom humanity holds in high esteem as liberators from tyranny and absolutism. But if violence justifies violence, it is not surprising if the Government in its turn used violence against violence, and a number of the Revolutionists were exiled, tortured, hanged and shot. No Government which is entrenched in divine rights and autocracy would have acted otherwise, and it would not be fair to accuse the Tsar's ministers of unusual bloodthirstiness. Not even a constitutional régime would for a minute have allowed a small band of men to try to impose a socialistic structure of society upon the unwilling and unprepared masses. In spite of our sympathies for the people and reforms, we cannot be blinded by the protestations of the people's party that virtue was all on their side and savagery and vice on that of the Government. Even the remnants of the original Revolutionary organizations, including the author of the funda-

mental work on the Russian Revolutionary movement, Burtsev, recognize the fact that what is saving Russia to-day from being swamped by the present German peril is the survival of the Government as a strong arm of the people. Were it not for its strength, the present war would long have been decided in favor of Germany. The only accusation which is justified against the Government in the Nineteenth Century is that it has been exceptionally stupid in not taking advantage of the popular unrest in the direction of strengthening itself with the people. Had the Government honestly given the nation constitutional guarantees, the gainers would not have been the slim socialistic minority, but the Government itself around which the masses would have gathered in strength, to save themselves from the tyranny of industrial Socialism.

This was clearly understood by the party of the Black Assignment. The masses, they asserted, were much more interested in the land question than in political freedom. Indeed, they did not find it difficult to combine the liberation of the soil with the existence of an autocratic Government. It would be the purpose of the party to disillusion the masses in this respect and to inaugurate an agrarian revolution from below. The Revolutionary Narodniks must work exclusively on the basis of the current collectivist tendencies of the peasant commune, hence in Rus-

sia only so much of the Socialist program should be in force as deals with the village commune and the artel organization of popular industry. The constitutional ideas included in the program they considered as favoring only the bourgeoisie and even likely to retard the success of the agrarian Revolution. The nobility, the nascent bourgeoisie, the literary and learned classes did not yet possess any independent existence in the country and were more likely to lean on the Government and be helpful to it. Thus there were left the youthful intellectuals to carry on the Revolution by means of terrorism. The result was doubtful at best. Hence, as much as the political reform was desirable, the party proposed to limit its activity to the agrarian revolt. At the same time some of the members of the Black Assignment living abroad wished to remain in closer touch with the Western phase of the Socialist movement, and so confined themselves exclusively to a propaganda among the laboring classes in the direction of the Social-democratic program.

In 1891 the Revolutionists were obliged to acknowledge the complete fiasco of their propaganda, in so far as it depended on the peasantry for its success. "Russia is a peasant country. But, in so far as we know, there does not at the present time exist a fraction among the Russian Revolutionists that seriously considers depending

on the peasantry, that is, that works among it for the purpose of gaining partisans. Having burnt its fingers on the peasantry eighteen years ago, the party apparently has not the courage to turn to it once more." These words were written by Stepnyak, one of the foremost agitators of the '70's and the '80's. The old relation between the intellectuals and the people has now completely shifted. The people are no longer the peasants, but the working class. However, the Revolutionaries of the '90's were not anxious to align themselves with them exclusively as they had done with the peasants before. They preferred to exert their efforts among the intellectuals themselves, and for that purpose they proposed for the time being to keep the purely Socialistic propaganda in abeyance, as unacceptable to the majority of the educated classes. They confessed that it was impossible to reconstruct the economic conditions by a mere revolutionary impulse, hence Socialism must enter upon a purely evolutionary phase. The social question can be solved only after political freedom has been obtained.

Thus it appears from the statements of the former Revolutionists themselves that half a century of underground propaganda with its hundreds of victims and endless sacrifices had been wasted in vain, and at the end of the century society reverted to the moderate demands for constitutional rights of the middle of '50's. Ger-

man materialism and German socialism could not be grafted on the Russian body politic, and the Socialists would have met with complete failure even without the senseless persecutions by the Government. Had the Revolutionists by some chance been victorious, their régime would have been even more intolerable than that of the reactionary absolutism, because of its uncompromising adherence to the Socialist propaganda. The lofty enthusiasts had, indeed, displayed the characteristic virtues of the Russian bogatyr in their desire to serve the oppressed, but they had erred, as the State and the Church had erred before them in that they wished to impose their will on the masses, instead of fostering an initiative among them. The reforms from above have so far proved utter failures in Russia, and only such paternalism will be of any avail as will remove all retarding influences in the evolution of the popular initiative.

This is made once more evident in the grandiose, but utterly futile Revolutionary movements in the first decade of the Twentieth Century. Emperor Nicholas II began his reign with the assertion that he would consecrate all his strength to the preservation of the principle of autocracy in the same firm and imperturbable spirit in which his father, Alexander III, had protected it. With this reactionary statement there was inaugurated a reign of reaction and bloodthirstiness unequaled

in the annals of history. A future Dante will have to create a special place in Hell for this latest of the Romanovs and his minions. Alexander III wreaked his vengeance upon the students of the universities for the murder of his father by the intellectuals. Beginning with the year 1884 the youths were systematically deprived of every human right which they enjoyed before. They could not form into societies of the most innocent kind; they were obliged to study under professors foisted upon them by the Government against the will of the faculties, and every slightest manifestation of disapproval was met with severe punishments. In sheer despair the students, in 1899, simultaneously throughout Russia went on a strike. Strikes became among the intellectuals, as among the workingmen, the new method for a Revolutionary movement. But this manifestation, like all the later ones of the same kind, were brutally broken up by the knouts of the Cossacks and by wholesale banishments to military battalions. Thus the stupidity of the Crown awakened the spirit of revolution which the Revolutionists had declared to be a thing of the past but a decade before. And to fight the new nascent danger to the autocracy, the Tsar allied himself with the lowest and vilest elements of the city rabble, with those who are known as the Black Hundred and who are recruited among the classes bearing the English name of Hooli-

gans. Never before had the Romanovs descended so low. With the aid of the Black Hundred the frightful pogroms against the Jews have been executed by command and with the connivance of the Government. This has been proved beyond a shadow of a doubt. The Russian people, especially the peasants, know no racial and no religious antipathy, but the newly forming city rabble and the mercenary police and bureaucracy are ready at the behest of an obscurantist Government to commit any crime in the calendar. This they have done without reserve, whenever the Tsar's henchmen thought that the time was ripe for a demonstration, in order to ward off some manifestation of the Revolution. The Jews were singled out for their nefarious work, because it was easier to do the work in a block, but Christian intellectuals were not spared either, and in one case, when a large number of the latter were gathered in a theater, the building was put on fire and all the occupants were burnt to death.

To fight the growing danger of the labor organizations the Government hit upon an ingenious scheme that, however, in the end cost it dearly. The chief of the Moscow Secret Police, Subatov, started to found all kinds of labor societies and even to initiate strikes on a large scale. The proprietors of the industrial institutions had the apparent leaders arrested by the police, and Subatov's emissaries were ordered out of the

cities where the strikes took place. But in a day or two they were again at their nefarious work. The secret police hoped in this manner to gain the confidence of the workingmen in order to utilize them later for counter revolutions. But they counted without the host. In 1903 a general strike was declared, at first in St. Petersburg, and later in the Caucasus, which not only was directed against capitalism, but also threatened to become a political demonstration on a large scale. The workingmen were joined by the students and enjoyed the sympathies of all the intellectuals. The strike was as suddenly stopped by order of the Social-democratic party as it had been begun, and the Government had learned the valuable lesson that counter-revolutions among the laborers did not pay.

The most dastardly attempt of the bureaucracy was attempted at the time against the Zemstvos. The Zemstvos had been created simultaneously with the emancipation of the serfs and were invested with certain moderate local autonomies, in order to supervise and advance the interests of the country districts. The Zemstvos have, with very few exceptions, been liberal in their political views, and, in spite of the most senseless oppression from the central Government, have accomplished noble results in the advancement of popular education and hygiene. Their repeated requests for even a moderate degree of constitu-

tionalism had been met with rebuffs and even with banishment and imprisonment. In 1903 the Government proposed to do away with the electoral right of the Zemstvos and to substitute appointed officers, wherever the existing officials incurred its displeasure. Whole Zemstvos resigned in a body, and no inducement was strong enough to fill the vacant places with subservient teachers, physicians, statisticians, agronomists, etc. Here, too, the autocracy met with a complete fiasco. Thus, in place of the one head of the Terrorist hydra there now were growing the three heads of the intellectuals, the workingmen and the Zemstvos.

Amidst these perplexities the Japanese war broke out in order to further the private interests of Grand Duke Alexis and the court camarilla. The chief cause of its failure was the fact that the people could not be deceived into believing that it was in any way justified. Revolt broke out in the army; the navy later mutinied; strikes were inaugurated on an even larger scale than before; the Zemstvos demanded reforms. With its back to the wall, the Government finally surrendered, and in October 1905, the Tsar issued a Manifesto and convoked the First Duma. Since that time the Government has taken precautionary measures against the recurrence of a concerted action of the people, and with increasing courage it has broken one pledge after the other,

until the Third Duma represents but a shadow of the constitutional guarantees promulgated in 1905.

Again a Revolutionary fiasco. Just when the people, wearied with endless persecutions, were lapsing into a period of resignation, the challenge given by the Hohenzollern-Hapsburgs to the Slavic world has reunited the various elements of the Russian people as nothing has since the days of Napoleon. We have the strange phenomenon that liberals exiled by the Tsar for the first time recognize the salutary effect of the autocratic Government, that the anarchist Kropotkin joyfully chronicles the unanimous hatred of all the classes in Russia for militaristic Germany, and that Burtsev, an arch-enemy of the autocracy, returns to Russia and begs to be allowed to fight for his country against the German invader. What the Russian Government has been unable to do for one hundred years, that Germany has produced in a few weeks. Has the spirit of Revolutionary Russia changed? Have the intellectuals finally come to see the folly of their opposition? Will the laborers forget their strikes and their political ideals? Not in the least. As soon as the war is over they will all return to their animosities, if the Government has not meanwhile learned that it is better to lean upon a united people than to court its hatred.

It is hardly to be believed that the Government will for once become wise, even though it has in-

augurated a more momentous reform than the granting of constitutional rights by compelling the nation to become sober. Why then this unanimity of action? Because it is perfectly clear that the Prussian autocracy, in case of victory, would be a source of far greater danger to the Russian nation than the brutal, but unorganized tyranny of the Romanovs. The unanimity of Germany in supporting the Emperor in the present war is based on the absence of every free initiative, which has been killed out by the very efficient and civilized methods pursued by the Government. Should a similar perfect system be imposed upon Russia, all possibility for real liberties would vanish for a century. If Russia is victorious, it will return to the chaotic state which preceded the war, and the nation must ultimately win those individualistic liberties, which have constantly cropped out even under the most crushing oppression. It is doubtful whether a Revolution will ever accomplish this, but it is evident that the constitutional ideas, which in the beginning of the Nineteenth Century found a lodging only among a small band of officers and intellectuals, now are understood and propagated among the workingmen and students at large, and the revolts of the peasants and mutinies of the soldiers of the last decade show that the Government's dependence on Hooligans and subservient minions will not save it from annihilation.

VIII

THE PEASANT

NEARLY nine-tenths of the whole population of Russia cultivate the soil, hence the present and the future of the peasantry form an all-absorbing subject of discussion among all the classes of intellectuals. When the Emancipation was first mooted and Turgenev in his *Memoirs of a Hunter* pointed out to an astonished reading public that the serfs had souls, just like any other human beings, the newly created enthusiasm found its expression in highly colored accounts of peasant life. Everything the peasants did was better than what the denizens of the cities did under the influence of an ill-adapted Western education. This attitude was fostered chiefly by the Slavophiles who claimed to have discovered in the Russian Mir a specifically native institution based on communism, from which the future social institutions would have to develop. It was found that in many places the peasants did not hold land in severalty, but that the lots were apportioned out for a period of times by a *viva voce* vote of the village commune. Recent investigations of

the system have shown conclusively that the Mir had nothing whatsoever to do with a peculiar Russian attitude toward communal ownership, but was imposed on the villages by the Government in order to secure a regular payment of the taxes. Since it was not easy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries to secure the revenue from the widely scattered peasant holdings, the Government hit upon the expedient of making the village responsible for the taxes of its component members. This made it imperative for the commune to abandon private holdings and to redistribute the land for cultivation, whenever the death or sickness of any peasant threatened to throw the uncultivated land as a tax-burden upon the village at large. Far from being a specifically Russian institution, the Mir is responsible for much of the wretchedness of the country population, and a Danish agronomist, who lately has subjected the whole question to a searching investigation, has shown that wherever the Mir is abandoned, the miserable straw-thatched huts give way to substantial frame houses, the fields are better cultivated, the fences are kept up, and the peasants become responsible and sober men.

The Slavophiles did not trouble themselves about the truth in the matter. They were satisfied to notice the essential difference in the formation of the village commune in the West and in Russia, and to predicate from this a different

historical development for their own country. The Socialists inherited from the Slavophiles the preconception about the socialistic element in the Russian agricultural life, and with blind zeal started to graft the characteristically industrial socialism of the West upon the essential agricultural country. A decade of intense propaganda disenchanted them, and a similar attempt made once more in the beginning of the Twentieth Century has shown that all the peasants have carried away from the teachings of the Socialists is the right to appropriate to themselves the lands of the landed proprietors, employing for the purpose every crime imaginable, robbery, arson, murder. The Socialists have once more learned that the peasantry cannot be depended upon for the realization of a purely Socialistic revolution.

Novikov, one of the most brilliant and objective of Russian publicists, has given an exceedingly gloomy description of the modern Russian village. The traveler in Russia is struck by the sad monotony of the scenery in the country. Miles of forest with tangled undergrowth are broken by fields of rye, also miles in extent, or by fallow land which has not been worked for years. In winter a white pall, sometimes six feet in depth, makes the monotony even more monotonous. The villages are provokingly cheerless. Miserable log huts are pitted on the barren ground, without gardens or trees to gladden the eye. In the

spring and fall the roads are impassable on account of the mud; in summer the foot sinks deep into the dust; in the winter the carts stick in the snowdrifts and holes. The interior of the huts is equally disappointing. The one large room, which serves as an abode for the whole family, including the calf and chickens, has its space curtailed by the enormous stove. The room is always stiflingly hot, when there is a fire in the oven, and in winter it is freezingly cold, when the fire is out.

"Life is passed in continuous labor, with but a few hours of sleep, and yet the peasants seldom make both ends meet. In winter, when there is not enough to do at home, whole villages are sometimes abandoned by the men who go to the cities to find some occupation. The lot of the women is even worse than that of the men. At the age of five they have to take care of the younger members of the household, and at fourteen or fifteen they are marriageable, in order to begin lives of drudgery. Prenuptial morality is in many villages at a low ebb, and the married woman is subject to tyrannical and brutal treatment by her husband. The head of the family rules supreme and may refuse to issue a passport to any member of his household, thus compelling him to stay helplessly at home instead of attending to some profitable work elsewhere. The peasants are subjected to the arbitrary power of Gov-

ernment officials, and the efforts of the Zemstvos to improve the educational and hygienic conditions of the villages are generally negatived by the repressive measures of such officials and the torpid conscience of the peasants themselves. In spite of the Emancipation they still live in economic and political slavery, and their chronic drunkenness is but a result of that misery which comes in the wake of that slavery.

"It would seem impossible to inaugurate reforms among the peasants. No, it is not easy to move an ocean. The peasants will not understand so soon that their chief enemy is not the landed proprietor, with whom their immediate oppression originates, but the existing order which supports the proprietor, and not the police which torments and tortures them, but those who instigate these tortures. Only the surface of the ocean has stirred, and not in all places at that. But it is impossible to continue living in this way. The disturbances have already begun. In one place they have beaten a teacher and destroyed a school; in another place they have whipped the pupils, and elsewhere they have threatened the physicians who cure them. All that is the result of the police activity and of the priests who set the peasants against the 'enemies of the Tsar.' Elsewhere again they have been beating the landed proprietors, robbing their barns and forests, burning their sugar plants and

houses. Maybe this is the activity of the peasants under the influence of a wrongly comprehended propaganda. Both phenomena are becoming more and more frequent. It is impossible to continue living that way. It seems possible that the people will rise and will, for the Tsar, in the name of the Tsar, murder the proprietors, the intellectuals and the police. Much blood will flow, much good and bad blood. A sea of blood will be spilled by the peasants in their struggle against the Tsar's army. Then they will understand that they have nothing to expect from the Tsar. To them will happen what has happened to the Russian workingmen. Their faith in the Tsar will die."

This was written in 1906, but the peasantry is as far from the expected Revolution as in the '80's of the last century. The possibility of a successful Revolution from below is still very remote. But there is to be observed a distinct movement in the direction of the peasants' intellectual emancipation, and this presages a far more powerful revolution than the one aiming at mere political liberty. The Socialists had but the one aim in view, the attainment of a socialistic State by means of a revolution of the masses. When they convinced themselves that this could not be accomplished automatically, they set about to educate the peasants in the socialistic doctrine. To their surprise the peasants did not respond

readily to their persuasive propaganda. Similarly the Russian clergy has been unable to bring the sectarians back to the bosom of the Church, in spite of the peasants' love for the Tsar and his realm.

There is one thing that the reformers and the Government constantly leave out in their zealous endeavors and that is the peasants' psychology. It never occurs to them that, in spite of the very low intellectual level of the masses, they are actuated by moral and spiritual principles which are frequently of a higher order than the one-sided theoretical doctrines which they themselves represent. The future of Russia will not be decided by the intellectuals nor by the minions of the Government, but by the peasants who form a solid body of more than one hundred million people with approximately the same interests in life. When reformers will once come to see that their only hope of saving the country lies in giving the masses that education which they themselves need and want, and not that which the theoreticians want to foist upon them for their own advantages, they will lay the foundation for that greatness which is certainly in store for Russia. We shall now proceed to determine the soul of the peasant, that is, to ascertain his intellectual and moral possibilities, independently from the economic and political conditions, which have made

him that apparently hopeless being as described by Novikov.

In 1884 there was published in Russia a remarkable work, *What Shall the People Read?* which in 1889 appeared in a second enormously increased edition of nearly 2000 quarto pages. It had its origin in the experimental labors of a number of Sunday School teachers in the city of Kharkov. A Mrs. Kh. D. Alchevski set out with the idea of finding out from the peasants of the Sunday School what kind of books were especially adapted for the needs of the untutored masses. She had no preconceived ideas of what was good for them. She simply wanted to study the effect upon a large number of persons of every available work in the Russian language. The children and the grown-ups freely commented upon the books read and stenographic accounts of the statements were carefully transcribed, and the results of the investigation on the 2500 volumes analyzed were faithfully recorded. We are thus enabled to study the psychology of the peasant in an entirely objective way.

The first division, dealing with books of a religious character, is unfortunately without any value for our purpose, because it was under the supervision of an Orthodox priest and was hampered by the obscurantist measures of the Church. It would have been interesting to know what the

peasants themselves thought of the religious ideas represented in those books, but the priest considered it wiser to tell us what his own ideas were. We are more fortunate with the division dealing with the literary productions, which escaped the supervision of the Church and incidentally will bring out the moral side of the people, in spite of the clerical interference. The most popular story turned out to be Tolstoy's *What Men Live By.* The unanimous opinion was that it was a good story because it taught men to love their neighbors. The examination of the opinions on all of Tolstoy's stories leads the author to the following conclusion: "Everything which is connected with his name, everything which is intended by him for the school, beginning with the simple stories for children and ending with the artistic production *What Men Live By,* is full of vital truth, of that ideal simplicity which finds its echo in the soul of the peasant reader."

Of foreign authors the most popular turned out to be Dickens, Harriet Beecher Stowe and Shakespeare. The analysis of *Oliver Twist* is interesting in that it reveals the peculiar points in Dickens which appeal to the untutored mind. At first the book was given to the pupils in an abbreviated Russian form. "In the last hour of one of the Sunday School classes a considerable number of girl students were gathered together. Among them were some that could read well, some

that had but lately entered the school, and some that could not read at all. They similarly differed in age, for they were from thirteen to twenty years old, and two were as old as forty. The teacher began to read. The listeners became interested in little Oliver from the very start, where his presence in the orphan asylum was described, and silence settled down on the class. When the cruel treatment of the small children by the teachers in the charitable institution was read, the oldest of the listeners, a woman forty years of age, exclaimed, 'What a shame to offend poor orphans that way!' But when the teacher reached the description of the scene with the grave digger, where little Oliver was horribly beaten for defending the honor of his dead mother, and where he was later locked up in a cellar, the indignation became universal. Both the children and the grown people were indignant. All were happy at Oliver's flight from the grave digger, for they did not foresee the terrible den into which he was to fall. Their joy was soon changed to worry about his future. Oliver's flight was connected with great danger; he might expect any moment to be caught; besides, he was very tired and hungry. Nobody offered him any aid; no one fed him, and he did not even dare beg for food. In the villages he saw signs with inscriptions, 'Beggars are arrested here.' A sixteen-year-old girl was provoked by these signs, 'They do not show

such cruelty with us,—lots of people live by alms here!' "

The ecstatic attitude of the pupils lasted until the end of the story, and the spontaneous exclamations showed how perfectly they had grasped the moral purpose of Dickens' work. The only thing which they failed to appreciate was Dickens' humor. "They wept over poor Oliver, shuddered at the description of the den of thieves, rejoiced when they reached the happy conclusion of the story, but we never heard them laugh." When the children were given the unabbreviated translation, they recognized its superiority over the shorter tale. The same preference they showed to the full story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* over the abbreviated form by Arabella Palmer. The artistic appreciation of the peasant is still more clearly brought out in the comparative study of Shakespeare's *King Lear* and its prose tales.

A Russian abbreviation of Charles Lamb's story produced very little effect. A transformation of the story under Russian surroundings, *Old Man Nikita and His Three Daughters,* in which the crushing ending of Cordelia's death was softened in some such way as the conventional endings sometimes attempted on the stage, met with more response. Finally the classic translation of Shakespeare's drama was doubtfully attempted before an audience consisting of daughters of cooks and laundresses, of chambermaids

and seamstresses who had a little knowledge of reading, and of girls who had been attending the Sunday School for some time.

"'It is not in our country,—you can tell by the names,' were the remarks after the first pages, 'and it is not in our time, but when there were knights.'

"The remarks proceed mostly from the right side, from the less developed and less trained girls. The more developed girls follow the reading in silence and with concentration.

"'It seems to me they are both false,' somebody ventures the statement on the right, as the flattering speeches of Goneril and Regan are read.

"'O Lord! How can they drive such a faithful servant away from the kingdom?' is the comment on the Earl of Kent.

"'He refuses because she has no dowry,' a girl explains in a subdued voice to her neighbor, when Cordelia's worthless fiancé, the Duke of Burgundy, declines her hand.

"'She can't flatter,' they say sympathetically of Cordelia, whose part they take.

"These brief remarks tell you that the audience is attentively following the drama, that they understand the sentiments and motives which guide the heroes, and that they have grasped the conditions of the *dramatis personæ* and their mutual relations, in spite of the foreign names which many do not even manage to pronounce. You

see that they mix up the names of Cordelia and Goneril, but, what is more important, although they confuse the names, they recognize them by their speeches. 'Oh! that's the younger one talking,' remarks one of the younger girls who has been mixing up the names. The girls are confused not only by the names, but also by the changes of scenery. Thus, for example, when the field gives way to a castle the audience imagines that Edgar is in front of the castle, and they wonder what will become of it.

"The fool amuses them and calls forth their sympathy. His acrid speeches are generally understood perfectly well. 'He means the king and his daughters,' they remark as they hear the fool's song:

> "The hedge-sparrow fed the cuckoo so long,
> That it had it head bit off by it young.

"When unfortunate Lear, having been insulted by his elder daughter, intends to go to the second daughter, somebody sadly whispers, 'It seems to me she will do the same.'

"The tragic situation of the unhappy old man takes more and more possession of the souls of the audience, and finally the scene in the heath moves them to tears. Through the repressed sobs which by degrees seize the whole audience you hear, at Lear's words:

"Poor naked wretches, wheresoe'er you are,
That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,

a girl say in a trembling voice, 'That's when he thinks of the poor! Want has made a different man of him!'

"The tragedy is read by a young woman, the teacher. She makes an effort not to submit to the universal impression and calmly to end the reading of the drama, but during the scene when Lear awakens her voice trembles, and at Lear's words over Cordelia's body,

"And my poor fool is hang'd! No, no, no life!

sobs compress her throat, and she quietly weeps over the book, unable to withstand the common impression of the audience. For several minutes after the reading there is a profound silence. At last one of the young girls says, as though recalling something, 'I read something like it,—the father was offended by his daughters,—only he was a common peasant, and his name was Nikita. It was good, too.'

" 'What a comparison!' retorted a more developed girl. 'The other story was written for peasants, while this is for gentlemen.'

" 'This is much better,' added her companion. 'There there is a happy ending, whereas such a story could never end well.'

"'I read something like it in Turgenev's works,' remarked another of the brighter girls, 'but I like this much better.'

"'Awfully interesting!' somebody exclaimed on the right.

"Nobody remembered the colorless rendering of Lamb's tale."

The pupils continued to analyze the different characters of the drama, after which the authoress of the book came to the following conclusion: "We permitted ourselves to place the three productions side by side, in spite of the abyss that separates them, because, in our opinion it accentuates the needlessness of *rifacimenti* from the great writers, to meet the needs of the masses. In this juxtaposition you see, on the one hand, a colorless transposition in prose, on the other, a rather successful adaptation to the popular stories, and, finally, the work itself in all its illimitable splendor and greatness. We shall not deny the fact that the mediocre adaptation also produces a fairly strong impression upon the peasant readers, but, none the less, it is totally superfluous, because the tragedy itself takes complete possession of the people's souls and is admirably understood by them."

The remarkable results of the empirical method for the determination of the soul of the Russian peasant are so perfectly in keeping with Tolstoy's judgment of the masses that they compel us to

turn to Tolstoy for a fuller analysis of the peasant's spiritual endowment.

In his very first literary production, *Childhood, Boyhood and Youth,* Tolstoy showed his predilection for the humble and oppressed. His ethical heroes are exclusively to be found among the peasant class. Here we find the nurse Natalya Savishna who never spoke and never thought of herself and whose life consisted of love and self-sacrifice; and more especially the saintly fool who expressed his religious faith in half-articulated words, "O great Christian Grisha! Your faith was so strong that you felt the nearness of God; your love was so great that words flowed of their own will from your lips, and you did not verify them by reason. And what high praise you gave to His majesty, when, not finding any words, you prostrated yourself on the ground!" Of course, this pronounced sympathy for the lowly was due to the prevailing Slavophile leaning towards the people in the '50's and his own Rousseauan preoccupation with the "natural man"; but in choosing the faithful nurse and the religious simpleton for his first models from the masses Tolstoy brought to the front the characteristic virtue of devotion to man and God, which we have already met with in the school experiment and which forms the basis of all of his characterizations of the peasant.

In the *Power of Darkness* we have a terrible

picture of the degradation of the peasant due to ignorance. But finally the criminal Nikita makes a clean breast of his misdeeds, while his half-witted father calls out in transport, "Speak, my child! Tell everything and you will feel better! Repent you before God, and don't be afraid of people! God is the main thing, God!" It would only be useless repetition to count out all the exquisite pen-pictures of the simple-minded whom Tolstoy has delineated. We shall confine ourselves to Platon Karataev, who typifies the peasant soul.

Pierre stumbled in burning Moscow on the soldier Karataev, who shared with him his last potatoes. Karataev told him the story of his life. He had been sent to the army for poaching in his master's forest. Instead of complaining of his fate, he expresses his implicit faith in the Lord for having saved his younger brother from military service, and having sent prosperity to his father while he himself was serving his country. As he lies down to sleep, he prays not only for all men, but also for the dumb brutes. At a later time, when he lay sick with the fever, he had no thought of himself, but only of the peace which one must make with God. To illustrate this, he told of the confession of a murderer. "Not the story itself, but its mysterious sense, that joy of transport which shone on Karataev's face while he was telling it, the mysterious meaning of this

joy, was what now dimly and joyously filled Pierre's soul."

During the famine of 1898 Tolstoy tried to find an explanation for the wretched condition of the peasants. He thought that it was due to a spirit of dejection which manifested itself in a complete indifference to all spiritual interests, an unwillingness to change their habits and their condition, a contempt for agricultural labor. The chief cause of this dejection he found in the paternalism of the Government which considered the masses as irrational beings unable to take care of themselves and unworthy of humane treatment. It is because the peasants have their religion thrust upon them that they carry nothing away from it and fatalistically submit to the inevitable. As soon as they tear themselves away from the Church they become rational and intelligent, and their well-being is established without any outside help. Another source of depression is the multiplicity of officials to whom the peasants are subjected and the special laws which have been created for them, particularly the frequent recourse to the rod as a punishment.

Tolstoy has admirably analyzed the causes of the perennial famines in Russia, and has proposed a solution which is the only one that will mend matters. He does not find a real famine, but a succession of years in which the peasants have been underfed. The cause of the wretched

condition is not of a material, but a spiritual nature. External measures cannot help them: neither the efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture, nor a change in the tariff, nor the abolition of the Emancipation payments, nor the removal of duties on iron and machinery, nor even the improvement of the parish schools would do them the least good. All those things would be useful only if the masses were spiritually prepared to take advantage of them. "It is necessary, I do not say to respect, but to stop despising and insulting the masses by treating them as beasts; it is necessary to give them freedom of belief; it is necessary to submit them to general, and not to special laws,—not to the arbitrariness of County Council chiefs; it is necessary to give them freedom of study, freedom of reading, freedom of migration, and, above all, to take off that disgraceful brand, which lies upon the past and the present reigns,—the permission to practise that savage torture, the flogging of adults for no other reason than that they belong to the peasant class."

Given this equality before the law, the inherent Russian characteristics will have a chance for development, such as was not given to the upper classes who were violently removed from their native surroundings into a feeble imitation of the West. The peasants have remained more directly in contact with reality and have not lost their native simplicity and sincerity. Tolstoy

had attempted to educate the peasant children on his estate, but to his surprise he found that he could impart facts to them and not an attitude toward these facts. He convinced himself soon that he would have to learn the art of composition from the children, and that he could guide them only in external things. Under the influence of this discovery he wrote four Readers which for simplicity and directness surpassed anything done for children by professional schoolmen and literary writers. What Tolstoy found in the case of the children, is also true of the peasants at large. In spite of their misery, ignorance, inertia, they have in reserve an earnestness of purpose, deep religious feeling, tender hearts for the suffering of their fellow-men, enthusiasm for everything good and great, which find their fullest expression the moment the spiritual depression is lifted from them.

The important question is how this freeing of the masses is to take place. The Government has not shown any great willingness to equalize the whole population before the law. The Socialists claim that the peasant representatives in the second and third Duma were overwhelmingly socialistic in their tendencies. But this is an illusion. The all-absorbing problem now before the country is the redistribution of the land, and, as the Socialists have been favoring the movement, the peasant representatives have sided with them.

The land question, no matter how helpful it may be for a time, will not bring the peasant nearer to a solution of his spiritual doubts. So far it has been religion alone that has successfully transformed the masses. Small as the beginning is, the ten or fifteen millions of Old Believers and sectarians have alone shown definite results in the direction of reform. All Russians are so individualistic that party legislation and party rule has no element of constancy in it, and it will be equally impossible to hold the vast numbers of the masses together by any party discipline. Besides, the intellectuals can give the peasants many a material benefit, but they cannot enrich them by any spiritual element, which in themselves has become weakened or even obliterated. It is more likely that in the near future the peasants, with their magnificent spiritual endowment, will lead the way in the regeneration of the nation, which the upper classes have, indeed, earnestly desired, but have been unable, on account of disastrous foibles, to realize in their own midst.

IX

THE POSITION AND INFLUENCE OF WOMEN IN RUSSIA

THE position of women in ancient Russia was not unlike that which they occupy in Eastern countries. They were confined to the separate apartments and were as completely in the power of the head of the family as were the children and slaves. Ostrovski has given us in his dramas pictures of that tyranny, as it has survived in the merchant class of Moscow in the Nineteenth Century. They are meek, submissive and crushed. But when they get the upper hand, as widows, or as the consorts of feeble, unassertive husbands, these women turn the tables and become indomitable tyrants, even more persistent and cruel in their action than the men. Turgenev himself suffered from the arbitrary rule of his termagant mother, and his aversion to serfdom was said to have been fostered by the brutal scenes which he witnessed in his own house. These types of women may only be found among the backward masses. Among the intellectuals they had ceased to exist after Peter's reforms, only to give way to a frivolous, immoral class

of women. It is well known how that Emperor forced the wives of the noblemen to attend meetings at court, busily working at their knitting, while the men smoked and drank, because he had witnessed such scenes in Holland and Germany. Such a procedure only tore them from the old anchorage without giving them any resting place. Morals became weakened, and the whole of the Eighteenth Century presents nothing but corruption and superficial refinement. Women, with their intrigues, ruled supreme, and the Government was entirely in the hands of favorites of imperial mistresses.

Even amidst this moral quagmire there rise two types of women who a century later become important factors in the evolution of the national life,—the woman of action and the woman of self-sacrifice. The first is represented by Princess Dashkov, the second by Princess Dolgoruki. Princess Dashkov had had unusual advantages in her youth. At the house of her uncle, where she lived, she learned to converse in four languages, and she frequently rummaged through the family archives, which gave her an insight into political life. She was a prodigious reader, and Bayle, Montesquieu, Boileau and Voltaire were her favorite authors. She married very young, and at the age of twenty was left a widow, with two sons in her care. She went abroad, where she cultivated the acquaintance of scholars and

statesmen, especially that of Diderot and Voltaire. When her eldest son was thirteen years old, she went to Edinburgh to place him in the university. She stayed in that city until her son's graduation, enjoying during the time the close friendship of the historian Robertson and other scholars. Upon her return to Russia she took an active part in the Revolution of 1762, which put her friend, Catherine II, on the throne. The Empress made her President of the Russian Academy which she had founded a few years before. Princess Dashkov at once set out to reform and enlarge it. Her first act was to give Euler a predominant position, which heretofore had been held by Stehlin, a pretentious Professor of Allegory. The printing press was enlarged; the financial condition of the institution was at once improved; the number of students was greatly increased, and the best were sent abroad for further study; several periodicals were published, and translations, especially from English, were encouraged by her.

Princess Dolgoruki was the daughter of Count Sheremetev. She was engaged to be married when, at the ascension of Empress Anna, her fiancé fell into disfavor. In order to follow him into exile, she married him hurriedly and immediately followed him on his long and disagreeable journey. Two sons were born to her, the second just after her husband had been taken back to Russia

to be executed. After her return from exile she devoted herself to the education of her eldest son and then, taking her youngest child, who had been born with shattered nerves, with her, she passed the rest of her days in a monastery. At the request of her son she wrote out her memoirs which for simplicity and straightforwardness are unequaled in Russian literature. Her great devotion to her husband, her many sorrows, her self-abnegation have made her a heroine, and the poets Rylyeev and Kozlov have sung her virtues. But the finest monument to her memory is her own account of her experiences.

It is a remarkable fact that the Eighteenth Century has given to Russian literature not less than seventy women. As early as 1740 Princess Golitsyn had translated a number of dramas from foreign languages for her private theater. The chief impulse to literary work was given by Empress Catherine II, who edited journals, wrote comedies and personally attended to the literary form of the laws promulgated by her. At first the women wrote under assumed male names, but in the beginning of the Nineteenth Century they no longer needed to disguise their authorship. Indeed, they took an important part in the educational movement, and the salons, especially that of Madame Elagin, became the meeting places of literary men. The women continued to add their share to the periodicals, and the Nineteenth Cen-

tury can muster more than 1200 names of women who have enriched Russian letters. Among them Gan, Zhadovski, Marko Vovchok and few others have risen above mediocrity in the belles lettres and Bryullov, Konradi, Evreinov, but more especially Sofia Kolalevski, have distinguished themselves in the sciences.

The important place occupied by these women in the intellectual development is the more significant, since they were given no proper school advantages. In the time of Catherine but one girl to every thirteen boys could be found in the schools. Matters did not improve much in the reigns of Alexander I and Nicholas I. Catherine had, at least, attempted to create "a new race" of men by means of her system of education, while Empress Marya in 1824 started to found schools for women on a strictly social basis. The daughters of the nobility were to be educated in separate schools, where dancing, French and good manners were to be the main subject of instruction, while the schools for the burghers were of a strictly professional character. The purpose of these was to educate governesses for the nobility. Things did not mend until the year 1860, when Prince Oldenburg, who was then in charge of the education for women, strengthened the study of Russian and introduced several other useful reforms. He also founded the female Gymnasia, which were formed on the basis of

those existing for boys. These open schools had also a beneficent effect upon the closed schools of the nobility, for they were obliged to widen their own programs.

At the same time women were allowed to attend lectures in the universities, but in 1863 the various faculties still refused to grant them diplomas, although the universities of Kharkov and Kiev were willing to open their doors to women on equal rights with the men. As the Ministry of Education did not do anything for them, in consequence of the negative attitude of the institutions of learning, they flocked in large numbers to foreign institutions. The agitation for the higher education did not stop among the Russian women, but all they could obtain in 1870 was the opening of public lectures. Two years later public opinion was able to force the professors of the University of Moscow to establish an institution with a two years' course, later increased to three years. In 1882 this institution, together with another established about the same time, offered complete university courses in the sciences and in literature. A similar development took place with the public courses in Kazan and Kiev, but in the latter city the university had to be closed in 1886 on account of a decided falling off of the number of students. In order to stop the alarming exodus of young women to the universities in the west of Europe, the Ministry of Edu-

cation established in 1881 a more thorough university at St. Petersburg, in which the professors of the university for men offered advanced courses in the arts and letters. In 1886 this university was closed, nominally for the purpose of revising the whole program, but in reality because the Government wished to restrict all higher education, as productive of revolt. Three years later the university was reopened under a new organization, and the subjects of natural history, histology and the physiology of man and animals were excluded from the program. The same reactionary measure was inaugurated in regard to the medical college for women which was opened in 1872 and was closed in 1881, after having sent out nearly six hundred doctors of medicine of good standing.

It is obvious that the Gymnasia, Institutes and Universities account for but a small part of the women of Russia. The great majority of them have been educated at home, in the languages, by foreign governesses, in the sciences, by private tutors. Russia has ever been the paradise of private teachers, recruited, in the Eighteenth Century chiefly from among foreigners with rather doubtful pasts, and in the Nineteenth, from the students of the universities. By refusing to offer the women the broadest educational advantages to the full extent of the demand, the Government has helped to spread the revolt which it has

been anxious to crush. The young students who have come in contact with their girl pupils as teachers have not only given them the education withheld from them, but have also inoculated them them with the spirit of opposition against every kind of tradition, which has been characteristic of the youths in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. And the Russian women, far more positive and persistent than the men in their views and actions, have furnished a very great number of heroines in the struggle for political emancipation.

It cannot be assumed that the women of Russia represent a different psychological type than the men, and yet all the writers from Pushkin until the present have opposed the strong, self-centered female characters to the well-meaning, enthusiastic, but essentially weak heroes of their novels. It is more likely that the greater reserve naturally imposed upon the feminine sex is responsible for the preservation of her more positive characteristics. Young men come too early in contact with the world without, a world that on account of the unfortunate political conditions prevailing in the country can have nothing but disappointment in store for them. The enthusiasm of young Russia is far more inflammable than elsewhere in Europe, and the consequent débâcle, when the realities bristle up, is proportionate to the initial impulse with which these youths start in their re-

volt against tradition. In consequence they burn out at an early time, and at forty are ready to give up the struggle as old men. Many men, who have started as realists in mid-life have turned to mysticism for a relief from a spiritual world, while others, going to greater extremes still, have become downright reactionaries.

Women are spared the blighting contact with the cold world and are able to preserve their enthusiasm and their virtues intact to a maturer age, when rude reality only steels them in their conviction. This is seen, for example, in the case of the progressive authoresses of the '50's and '60's, Marko Vovchok and Khvoshchinski, whose youth had passed within the walls of institutes for the daughters of nobility, where the light from the outside world was carefully excluded. But even much earlier the women showed unexampled fortitude in bearing most cruel punishment and rare devotion for their kin in exile. In 1819 twenty-nine Cossack women unflinchingly received a severe beating with rods for having refused, together with a large number of men, to mow some Government meadows without remuneration. In 1826 nearly twenty women, wives, mothers, and fiancées, followed the exiled Decembrists to Siberia. Many of these were not permitted to return home, even after the death of their kin, several were included in the amnesty of 1850; many more remained at home because Emperor Nicholas did

not give them permission to follow their relatives into exile. The poet Nekrasov has immortalized Princess Trubetskoy and Princess Volkonski in two long poems, *Russian Women.* In 1830 not less than 375 women were sentenced to capital punishment for participation in a revolt at Sevastopol.

Chronic rebellions among the peasants against their cruel masters demanded the yearly quota of fifty executions up to the year 1846, one-fourth of the number being women. During the same period more than four thousand peasants and twenty-five hundred peasant women were exiled to Siberia by order of the landed proprietors. After 1860 women are occasionally included among the persons arrested for political propaganda. When, a decade later the intellectuals began to "go among the people," the unbounded enthusiasm of the progressive girls who wished to devote themselves to the national cause led them to enter into fictitious marriages, for the purpose of obtaining the necessary permission to leave their homes. Such pretended marriages became the rule among the intellectuals of the '70's. While occasionally the contemporary critics were justified in their accusations that they served only as a cloak for free love, the great majority of them had nothing in common with matrimony. Often the parties concerned never met again after the

church ceremony, and frequently the fiction led to real marriages. The only purpose of the contracting parties was to secure that freedom of domicile for the women which they otherwise could not obtain. The famous circle of the Chaykovtsy, founded in 1871, counted several women among their members. Three years later their activity assumed threatening proportions, and Minister of Justice Pahlen reported that 612 men and 158 women had been arrested for participation in a revolutionary propaganda. To his surprise not only girls, but even mothers of families were taking active part in the agitation against the Government. "The wife of the major of the secret police Goloushev not only did not discourage her son from taking part in the affair, but even actively advised and aided him. The very wealthy landed proprietress, Sofya Subbotin, a woman of advanced years, not only carried on the Revolutionary propaganda among the peasants of her neighborhood, but even won over to her side her ward, Miss Shatilov, and sent her very young daughters to end their education in Zurich. The daughters of the high functionaries, Natalya Armfeld, Varvara Batyushkov and Sofya Perovski, and the daughter of Major General Leschern von Herzfeld and many others went among the people, to do hard work in the fields and to sleep among the peasants with whom they worked, and

these acts apparently met with no disfavor on the part of their relatives, but were rather encouraged and approved."

Sofya Bardin, speaking in her defense before the court that sentenced the conspirators asserted that she did not, with the other defendants, plan the destruction of private property, but only wished to secure to each man the just reward for his labor. As to the accusation that she was trying to overthrow the family, religion, and the Government, she said: "In regard to the family I do not know who it is that undermines it, whether that social order which compels a woman to leave her family in order to earn a scanty wage in the factory, where both she and her children are unavoidably corrupted; that order which compels a woman, on account of poverty to take to prostitution, and even sanctions this prostitution, as a legal and necessary phenomenon in every well-ordered state,—or we, who are striving to eradicate this misery, which has served as the chief cause of all social wretchedness, and, with it, of the destruction of the family. In regard to religion I can only say that I have always been faithful to its spirit and essential principles in that pure form in which it was preached by the founder of Christianity. Just as little am I guilty of an attempt to undermine the Government. Indeed, I think that the efforts of separate individuals are unable to un-

dermine a government. . . . Gentlemen, I belong to that category of people who are known under the name of peaceful propagandists. Their problem consists in rousing the conscience of the masses to ideals of a better, juster social order, or to make clear those ideals which unconsciously have already taken root in them: to show them the faults of the present order, so that in the future the same faults may be avoided. But we do not determine when this future will arrive, nor is it possible for us to determine it, because its realization is not dependent upon us. . . . I am convinced that the day will come when even our sleepy and indolent society will awaken, and when it will feel ashamed for having allowed itself so long to be trodden down, to be deprived of brothers, sisters and daughters, in order to be destroyed for the mere free confession of their convictions. And this society will avenge our ruin. Persecute us,—gentlemen, for material force is on your side; but we have with us the moral force, the force of historic progress, the force of the idea, and ideas cannot be destroyed by bayonets."

Miss Bardin was but twenty-two years old when she was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. There were not less than fourteen women who received various sentences, among them the Jewess Jessy Helfman. Her case is interesting in that it shows the successful way in which the

Government makes full-fledged Revolutionists out of mere enthusiasts. Jessy had been a seamstress who happened in 1874 to fall in with some intellectual ladies lately returned from Zurich. She undertook to carry some Revolutionary correspondence from one person to another. For this crime she was sentenced to four years' imprisonment, where she was introduced to the Socialist movement by fellow prisoners. In 1879 she devoted herself whole-heartedly to the Revolutionary movement. In 1881 she was sentenced to capital punishment, but this was commuted to life imprisonment shortly before the birth of a child to her, on account of the indignation expressed in all of Europe at the obvious atrocity. She died in prison in 1882, three weeks before her husband was shot, as a convicted member of the Terrorist party.

The Government ascribed the growth of the Socialistic propaganda among the women to the existence of the higher institutions of learning which, therefore, were closed. The Revolutionary movement among the women came to an end, not because the higher education was withheld from them, but because the whole Socialist revolution collapsed and the noble, but useless exaltation could not be upheld any longer. The Feminist propaganda of the West has not taken deep root in Russia, simply because practically the women obtained full rights during the Revo-

lutionary period, and the suffrage would avail them little, since it has done so little for the men. While the possible future part which they may play in the Revolutionary movement may single them out as the most progressive and useful members of their sex, their Terrorist activity in the past must be considered as abnormal and exceptional.

The authors recognized the transitory condition of the movement, and not a single writer has given us a sympathetic treatment of the women Revolutionists, although the Nihilist Bazarov and other similar characters have found their advocates in literature. The Revolutionists have themselves recognized the futility of accomplishing any reforms by means of the intellectuals alone. In a similar way it may be asserted that the regeneration of Russia will not take place through the efforts of the abnormal type of women, but through the combined and persistent labors of the normal, every-day women of the land. We shall therefore turn to the conception of woman's work and duties, as represented in the best thought of Russian literature.

No one has better summarized the ideal of the peasant woman than Nekrasov, in his Red-Nosed Frost:[1]

> In Russ hamlets women are dwelling,
> Of countenance earnest, serene;

[1] Quoted from *Red-Nosed Frost*, Boston, 1886.

In all grace of movement excelling;
In bearing and look like a queen.

Perhaps they escape the dim-sighted;
But one who can see says of them:—
"She passes—with sunshine all's lighted!
And looks—'tis like giving a gem!"

The paths all our people are thronging
They follow,—the same course pursue;
From slime to their low lot belonging,
Their stains are of far lighter hue.

After extolling her health and beauty, her ability to do man's work, her cheerfulness and yet her extreme earnestness, her conviction that in labor lies all her salvation, the poet ends with a picture of her full-blossomed motherhood and religiousness:

This woman goes forth Sunday morn
To mass, all her family guiding:
Is sitting a child, two years born,
On her bosom, and there it is hiding;

Beside her the neatly dressed mother
Is leading her six-year old boy.
This picture,—like many another,—
All friends of Russ folk will enjoy.

Of course, this ideal is not always attained, but nevertheless it distinctly indicates the virtues to-

ward which the best of the women strive who are not effected by any scientific or political theories. Naturally the vast majority of the peasant girls would accept the gospel of labor, motherhood and faith as distinctly their own, and would frown down any Socialist doctrine which would deprive them of any of these three factors. Tolstoy, who understood the peasant soul better than any writer before him, has also accepted the peasant ideal for the women of the middle and upper classes and has, in the light of this gospel, delineated feminine characters which differ widely from those found in the West and in America, but which are faithful reproductions from the society in which he moved. As the future of a nation does not depend on the exceptional, but on the average mothers, a study of Tolstoy's women will help us to prognosticate the normal development of the nation.

In *What Shall We Do Then?* Tolstoy has pointed out that the only hope of solving the social conflicts lay in a healthy public opinion, and that this was chiefly made by women. Hence it was incumbent upon them to return to simple and straightforward ideas of women of the masses, and to abandon those corrupt practises which unfortunately have found their way among the wealthy with the growth of intellectualism. Only those can know the real meaning of life according to God's will who consciously submit to the

law of God. For women this law consists primarily in the duty to bear children and to undergo all the labors which childbirth and the rearing of children bring with them. "If there can be any doubt for a man and for a childless woman as to the path on which is to be the fulfilment of God's will, for a mother this path is firmly and clearly defined, and if she has humbly fulfilled it in the simplicity of her soul, she stands on the highest point of perfection which a human being can reach, and becomes for all men that complete sample of the fulfilment of God's will, toward which all men strive at all times. Only a mother can before her death calmly say to Him who has sent her into the world, and to him whom she has served by bringing forth and educating her children, whom she loves more than herself, after she has done her appointed task in serving Him: 'To-day hast thou released Thy slave.' But this is that highest perfection toward which, as toward the highest good, all men strive. It is such women, who have fulfilled their woman's calling, that rule the ruling men and serve as a guiding star to men; such women establish public opinion and prepare new generations of men; and so these women have in their hands the highest power, the power of saving people from the existing and menacing evils of our time. Yes, women and mothers, in your hands, more than in any other, is the salvation of the world."[1]

Those who have formed their own social ideas or who follow those which have been preached in the name of science will decidedly disagree with Tolstoy's narrow religious conception of woman's duties. But it must not be forgotten that what appears to be his injunction to the upper classes, who do not practise the laws of God, is in reality a representation of what actually is taking place in Russia. Even if we did not have Nekrasov's delineation of the average peasant woman, the statistical works would tell us louder than any scientific book that race suicide is as yet an unknown vice in Russia. It is generally assumed by the political economists that the increase of population depends on economic conditions. The facts in Russia totally belie their theory, for the population has continued increasing normally, in spite of the very depressing conditions prevailing, including wide-spread famines and plagues. Indeed, the alarming increase of the Slavs of the Russian Empire is one of the chief causes of Germany's fear of its neighbor in the East. But it is not the intellectuals in the Revolutionary movement, much less upper class society, that is filling up the ranks of the nation. The increase comes from the peasant and burgher classes, hence the normal development of the country must depend on these, and Tolstoy is perfectly right in upholding the consciousness of the masses against the corrupt refinement of what is called society.

Mere romantic love has played a very inconsiderable part in Russian literature since the days of Karamzin. A far more important function is ascribed to sympathy, pity, charity, to the spiritual aspects of love than to that which, in spite of the etherealization by poets and novelists, is primarily a manifestation of the sexual instinct. If Tolstoy generally represents the young women who fall in love as carried away by mere infatuation, which lasts only as long as the object of love is near, he depicts the characteristic Russian girl, to whom romantic love has not that element of permanency which the Western poets assume for prenuptial love. But no author has surrounded motherhood with such an aureole of glory, and even the temperamentally changeable and fickle girls are by him depicted as abandoning themselves to the animal instinct of maternity. The single-minded, well-balanced girls of the Anglo-Saxon type, such as Sonya in *War and Peace,* have no attraction for him, not because he does not believe in the spiritual development of women, but because the intellectual women in Russia have so far departed from the instinctive virtues which characterize the masses, that it appears to him more important to accentuate these sides of the feminine nature which do not have their roots in the intellect. It is a notorions fact that the marriages of the intellectuals have seldom been happy in Russia, and Tolstoy is only

voicing a national conviction that it is not the intellect alone that determines woman's progress and that the masses have as much to teach about woman's destiny as they have to learn about her mental education. Russia has had no lack of highly cultured and learned women, but the future of the country depends in a far greater degree upon the average woman of the masses.

X

THE NON-RUSSIAN RUSSIANS

THE Russian people is totally devoid of racial prejudice. If it were left to its own sympathies, Tartars and Nogais, Germans and Finns, Jews and Poles would fare equally well, because the strong individualism of the masses does not permit them to interfere with the idiosyncrasies of racial units. This freedom of individual action was brought out in the preamble of the Revolutionary program preceding the creation of the First Duma, when it was proposed to create a great Russian Empire on the basis of a free federation: "Every nationality which belongs to the Union has the right to leave it the moment this procedure appears useful for it. Vice versa,—every nationality that does not belong to the Union may join it upon mutual agreement." In fact, the only chance of reestablishing autonomies for the constituent peoples of the Russian Empire, and for the Poles and Ruthenians, who live also in the adjoining countries, lies in their being first reunited under Russia, because the Russian people is the only one that harbors without reserve a love for its Slavic neighbors, even as it shows no discrimination against Mohammedans and Jews. But the

Government in this respect is nearly always opposed to the wishes of the nation and of the subject races, because the Government is essentially Prussian in its policy and even depends to a great extent upon German officials to carry out its brutal decrees. And the Russian Government is as stupid as it is brutal. Had it cut loose from its political model, Prussia, it would long ago have united all the diverging parts of the country, because the Russification of the foreign elements has always been strongest where the Government has least interfered with the all-powerful genius of the Russian spiritual life which has been sweeping everything before it in the Nineteenth Century.

Numerically the largest contingent after the Great Russians are the Little Russians or Ukrainians, of whom there are probably thirty millions in a broad strip running east into Siberia from Kiev, to which nearly five million Ruthenians in Galicia and the Bukowina are to be added. The greater part of this territory voluntarily passed over to Russia in 1654, during the great Cossack wars with Poland. The Cossacks of the South have ever been democratic in their political life, and soon after their union with Russia they came into frequent conflict with the autocratic Government. Part of the Ukraine was lost to Russia in 1667 and did not come back to it until the division of Poland in 1793. The last trace of the Ukrainian autonomy was destroyed in 1775, and since

then the Government has been mercilessly at work to destroy even the Little Russian language. The literary language was made obligatory during the reign of Peter the Great. The restrictive measure of the censorship made the publication of Little Russian works, outside of harmless stories, impossible, and the most gifted Southerners, such as Gogol, Kostomarov, Potapenko, have been obliged to accommodate themselves to the foreign Great-Russian dialect for their literary works. By sheer stupidity the Government has alienated from itself thirty millions of its own Slavic kin and has driven its intellectuals into the ranks of the Revolutionists.

Naturally similar repressions have been exercised in Poland, but here the causes and effects are more complex. Whatever sympathies one may have with ancient Poland, it owes much of its misfortune to the anarchical régime of its government and to the anti-democratic tendencies of its aristocracy. When the Russian Government in 1864 freed the serfs in Poland, the peasants became more friendly to the new political master than they had been to the aristocratic landowners before. But the Government has not known how to take advantage of its popular measure, and to-day the whole of Poland is in a state of revolt against Russian officialdom. The Poles have no complaint against the Russian people, with whom they have come to have much in com-

mon. The abolition of a native school system and the introduction of the Russian language in the curriculum has made the intellectuals one with those of the ruling race, and many Revolutionists have been recruited from among the students in the Polish University. The creation of large industrial centers and the consequent factory population has brought the workingmen of the whole realm together, and the calling of strikes in Petrograd and Tiflis immediately causes cessation of work in Warsaw and Lodz.

If Poland is not entirely united and may in the last moment lose every chance of an autonomy, such a calamity will chiefly be due to the Poles themselves. They possess two most dangerous elements which negative the efforts of the better, nobler part of the people. These are the nobility and the Catholic clergy. Among the first there have turned up traitors to the Polish cause who, in order to save their possessions, have aligned themselves on the side of the barbarous Government, while the clergy has taken up the cudgel against the progressive elements of the people and has managed to obtain from the Russian Government the right to censor all productions which may in any way refer to the Catholic religion. Thus the clergy has censored Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis,* and even has started a campaign against the author himself. But the most dastardly work these two retrograde parts of the people have been

doing is their fanning the senseless, criminal anti-Semitic propaganda. The Jews of Poland have generally been warm partizans of the Poles against Russian oppression, and many of them have fallen by the side of their Christian friends in the various revolutions. Now they are ground up between Russian barbarism and Polish hypocrisy. If the millions of Jews will turn away from their Polish fellow-citizens and will cast in their lot with the Russian people, the fault will be entirely that of the Polish nation itself.

Had not the near-sighted Government interfered, the Polish peasantry would long ago have become Russian in sentiment, because of the Polish inveterate disagreement between the nobility and the masses. But by its constant restriction of the Polish intellectual activity it has weakened its own prestige. Meanwhile the Polish workingmen have come to align themselves with the whole industrial movement in Russia. It is the peasantry and the large industrial population of Poland that would seek a closer union with the Russian Empire, while only the intellectuals and the aristocracy dream of a resurrected Poland.

The same tendency towards a closer association with Russia is found among the minor nationalities, so long as the Government does not, by its Prussian system of centralization and uniformity, upset the natural process of assimilation. This is evidenced in the case of the Armenians.

Peter the Great tried to win the Turkish Armenians over to Russia, and Catherine the Great encouraged their migration to the Crimea. During the Russo-Persian War of 1826–1828, large numbers of them settled in the Caucasus and the southern cities. The Russification proceeded among them at a rapid rate. All educated Armenians spoke Russian, and many distinguished themselves as officers and generals in the Russian army, one of them, Loris-Melikov, rising to the high post of Minister of State. All this has been changed in the last twenty-five years. The Armenian Church and the Armenian schools have been persecuted by the bureaucracy in the Caucasus; animosities have been fomented between the Armenians and the Tartars and Georgians; and the native language has been discouraged in every way possible. In consequence of these senseless methods the Armenian intellectuals have been driven into the revolutionary field, the peasants and workingmen have joined the Socialistic movements of their Russian fellow-citizens, and the Armenian literature has taken a new lease of life. But it is only the stupidity of the Government that separates the highly gifted people from the nation at large. The extremely large number of Russian critics, professors, painters, authors who bear Armenian names proves that the all-powerful spirit of assimilation that characterizes the Russian influence among the non-Russians will again be abroad the

moment the nation can assert itself against the un-Russian bureaucracy.

The only anomalous relation subsists between Russia and Finland. In this latter country the Russian influence has, indeed, been slight through historic causes, but the repressive measures of the Government, in its attempt at centralization, are bringing the nations closer together. Finland owed its peculiar privileges to the generosity of Alexander I, who, during his liberal régime, promised to maintain its Swedish constitution intact. This policy was maintained for eighty years, and a state developed within the state. In justice to the Government, it must be pointed out that no other country in Europe would have tolerated such a separatism for a moment, and it speaks well for the throne that it remained true to the vows of an enthusiastic emperor for so long a time. There should be no criticism hurled against the ministers for bringing Finland under the universal laws prevalent in the rest of the country. The only objection that can be raised is against the stupidity and brutality with which the change was inaugurated. And yet, it is this suddenness of the change which has brought the sturdy Finlanders to the realization that their future depends on a closer union with the progressive elements in Russian society, and that their country must pursue the same democratic course as followed by the liberals among their Slavic neighbors. In the end

they will rather gain, than lose, from the injection of the Russian spirit into their intellectual life.

It is obvious from the course of events in the parts of the country just mentioned that the non-Russian peoples are allying themselves more and more with the Russian nation, in proportion as the Government is oppressing them in an attempt at a forcible Russification. If similar processes of denationalization be observed in other countries, for example in Germany, it will be noticed that governmental persecution does not bring with it a closer union with the nation at large. The German Poles are no fonder of the Germans than they are of their rulers, and forty years of peaceful possession has not made Alsace-Lorraine German in sentiment or even toleration. The diverging phenomenon in Russia is due to the diametrical opposition of the people to the Government and to the essentially cosmopolitan sympathies of the masses at large. The Russians have no inborn racial or social prejudices, and they automatically extend the benefits of their political ideals to all the component elements of the Empire and would gladly embrace the rest of the world into the great brotherhood. Russian literature has preached such a catholicity for more than half a century, and if the Polish, Finnish and Armenian intellectuals have not been more thoroughly merged with their Slavic protagonists, the fault

is that of the minor nations who have not begun at so early a time to democratize society. But things are rapidly changing. What the intellectuals and Revolutionists did not accomplish, that is being brought about by the workingmen of the land whom the common interests of toil and suffering carry into the ranks of the great, all-pervading Russian democracy.

We shall now turn to the two most important foreign elements in the Russian body politic, the Jews and the Germans.

The south of Russia had harbored Jews since the first Christian century, and in the Ninth Century the Tartar nation of the Khazars practised the Mosaic religion. In 987 they tried to convert the Russian prince of Kiev, but, according to the account of the chronicler, the great splendor of the Greek Church turned him toward Byzantium and Christianity. The Russian pagans had lived amicably with their Jewish neighbors, but, upon becoming Christians, they inherited the Byzantine hatred of the Jews, which through the late Roman laws and their Germanic development was also bequeathed to the Germanic nations.

In the beginning of the Eleventh Century the Jews were not permitted to live in Kiev, but a century later a special part of the city was set aside for them. They were tolerated on account of their commercial propensities, and Ivan III still further expanded their privileges. But Ivan IV, from re-

ligious considerations, would not accede to the demand of the King of Poland that the Lithuanian Jews should be admitted to Russia. Peter the Great did not abolish the prohibition against the settling of Jews in Russia proper, but was lenient toward them and even allowed them to open drug-stores and similar commercial establishments. In the Eighteenth Century a large number of Jews were to be found in the Western provinces lately incorporated into the Empire, in Little Russia and in the Baltic Provinces.

For fifty years the Government alternated its policy between oppression and toleration. Catherine II permitted them to settle in the region of the Black Sea, and after the division of Poland in 1773 a large number, calculated at 900,000, who formed an integral part of White Russia, were incorporated into Russia. These preserved their organization of the religious commune, but did not obtain equal civil rights with the rest of the population.

The lot of the Jews did not improve much in the Nineteenth Century. Attempts were made to settle them on the land as agriculturists, but the Government proceeded in a half-hearted way, and but a small proportion became successful farmers. In the reign of Alexander II a few privileges were granted. Merchants of the first guild could live anywhere in the Empire, and mechanics and artisans could ply their trades outside the pale of

settlement. The most significant privilege was the permission to attend the secondary schools and the universities, and the virtual grant of citizenship to apothecaries, physicians, and the learned professions in general. This period of extreme toleration lasted until the year 1881, after which began a series of persecutions and massacres which has lasted until our time.

Sad and uncalled for as the pogroms have been, they are to a great extent the fault of the Jews themselves, but a fault which more than anything else proves the remarkable adaptability of the Jews to the democratic spirit of the Russian nation. These very pogroms will, in the future, be the basis for an assimilation such as is not to be hoped for in any other country.

The one positive characteristic of the Russian Jews is their ineradicable love of learning. Long after the Jews in the West had ceased to busy themselves exclusively with Hebrew learning, the cities of Poland and White Russia remained Meccas for the Slavic Jews, and the study of the Talmud formed an all-absorbing occupation for rich and poor. This passion for learning finds its expression in the Yiddish cradle song, which every mother croons over her infant boy, "When you grow up you will be a Rabbi." The moment the Russian schools were thrown open to the Jews, their youths began to crowd the Gymnasia and the universities entirely out of proportion to the nu-

merical part which they formed in the Russian nation. Those who could not be accommodated at home filled the foreign universities. They threw themselves with the same zeal upon the Western learning, which they had before shown in the study of Jewish lore, and as the older generation had been distinctively Semitic in its intellectualism, so the younger people became thoroughly Russian in their sympathies.

It is generally assumed that the Jews the world over are clannish and possessed of certain common characteristics which at once separate them into a body, and, free play being given to inherent antipathies, cause their Christian fellow-citizens to vent upon them their anti-Semitism. Nothing is further from the truth. The Spanish Jews differ enormously from the German Jews, and the German Jews not only differ widely from their Russian co-religionists, but have as deeply seated antipathies for them, as they have for the Slavs in general. "Polak," that is, Polish or Russian Jew, has always been an expression of contempt among them, to be hurled at the Easterners as a last resort. Not even in America is there much love lost between the two classes of Jews. The German Jews represent substantial business interests and share many vices and virtues with the Christian Germans. The Russian Jews in this country for the most part take to the arts and trades and, wherever possible, follow the learned professions.

The difference of occupation is due to the different environments in which the Jewish character has developed. In Germany it evolved in the Ghetto, where commerce was as a rule the only outlet for activity, and in America the greater liberty of action has brought out the essentially German thrift, persistency and efficiency, which give the commercial instinct an undreamt of scope. Hence the great commercial interests, the great banking houses, presided over by German Jews. The Russian Jews, on the other hand, come from humble surroundings, their one undying passion being learning. It is doubtful whether they will in this country ever develop the talent for great commercial concerns which is to be found among their German co-religionists. They will far more readily amalgamate with the American middle class and intellectuals, even because the Russian democratic spirit which actuates their lives is more akin to the democratic spirit of America.

The essential difference of the German and the Russian viewpoint is well brought out in the diametrical opposition of the Germans and the Jews in Russia in their political sympathies. The Germans have invariably been supporters of the autocracy, while the Jews have allied themselves with the national parties. A Russian publicist has expressed the opinion that the Jewish women were the ideal towards which the Russian women Revolutionists had been leaning. That he is mis-

taken in the analysis is proved by the fact that the Jewesses of other countries have not developed the specifically democratic and heroic natures that have been apparent in every Revolutionary movement in Russia. The reverse is true. The Jewish women having come under the same educational advantages as their Christian sisters have identified themselves in absolutely every particular with them. But their characters had been steeled by centuries of persecutions, and so they represented a more active element of the intellectual Revolution than was furnished by the Christian women. A similar relation subsists in the ranks of the male Revolutionists, and it has been calculated that more than eighty per cent. of all the radicals have been supplied from this source, while nearly sixty per cent. have been sentenced to imprisonment, exile and capital punishment. As the Jews form less than four per cent. of the whole population, it appears that they have supplied four times as many Revolutionists as the Christians or nearly twenty-five times the number normally to be expected. Granted the right to defend itself against so palpable a danger, the governmental opposition to the Jews, which finds its expression in anti-Semitism and pogroms, is natural and unavoidable.

The Government has ruthlessly persecuted all Revolutionists and, being under the impression that the vast majority has been recruited from

among the Jews, the retaliatory measures employed are not at all extraordinary. The Government hopes in this manner to intimidate the people and check the growth of Socialism. The trouble is in the premises, not in the immediate cause. It is the action of the Government, in depriving the Jews of civic rights, that has created such a large intellectual proletariat among them, and the enormous growth of Socialism in their midst is the most eloquent answer to the usual stupidity of the Russian bureaucracy. The pogroms have not abated this danger,—they have only deferred the final accounting.

Neither the intellectuals nor the masses have any antipathy for the Jews. Prince Urusov, who was sent about ten years ago to Bessarabia, ostensibly to carry out Von Plehve's savage policy of anti-Semitism, but who brought with him the usual objective attitude of the Russian liberals, soon convinced himself that there was not the slightest justification for the wholesale persecutions carried on by orders or connivance of the central Government against the defenseless Jews. These were no better and no worse than their Christian fellow-citizens. The usual accusation that they monopolized business proved untrue, for the country people, left to themselves, liked to deal with them, on account of their fairer methods in their dealings and their smaller profits in the customary transactions. Nor was there any truth

in the statement that the Jews shunned work and agricultural labor. Many of the important trades were satisfactorily attended to by them, and the agricultural school established by private Jewish initiative in Bessarabia was not only a model of its kind, but also proved a boon to the Christian neighbors who came there for advice and instruction. The pogroms had been inaugurated by two unscrupulous individuals, one a Rumanian, the other a Russian, who received their encouragement from an overzealous bureaucracy, which in its turn set its sail to von Plehve's wind. Thus it appears that the bloodthirsty policy of the Russian Government against the Jews was directly inaugurated by the German von Plehve in the service of Russian autocracy.

It is significant that, although the Russians know neither racial nor national prejudice, they have a strong dislike for the Germans in Russian service. Tolstoy, who preached tolerance for all men, has described the Germans as unamiable, selfish, boastful, and un-Russian. The masses like the German farmers and merchants, because of their efficient and progressive methods, but they seldom love them. The Germans in Russia have in some cases lived there for centuries, and they have all the time remained foreigners in the land. They have looked with contempt upon the people, and have invariably sided with the Government against them. Indeed, a German writer on the

Germans in Russia, Theodor Baszler, considers it to be the greatest desert of these Russo-Germans that they have invariably supported the autocracy. "Under Emperor Nicholas I the first attempts were made to introduce the Russian language into the secondary schools and universities of the Baltic provinces. The Russian Government, however, soon abandoned all further attempts. The stormy year 1848 and the disturbed state of the country after the Crimean War convinced the Emperor so fully of the value of the conservative, loyal German populace that he stopped all attempts at denationalizing his German subjects." It was an irony of fate that Alexander III, guided by the Prussian system of denationalization, nevertheless banished the German language from the University of Dorpat and thus drove his Russian subjects, Harnack, Schiemann, Ostwald, into the German camp, where they have been venting their spleen against the Russian Asiatics. In spite of the proscription of the German language, the Baltic Germans remained faithful to the autocracy. "The Baltic Germans, whose allegiance to the Emperor was well known even in the hostile Governmental circles, have in no way taken part in the so-called Revolution of 1905." No wonder, then, that they have profitted by it. Since 1906 they have been permitted to open a number of private schools, from which the pupils may pass to the universities by taking their

examinations together with the pupils of the Russian Gymnasia. Now the Baltic German nobility is looking forward toward a bright future, because "they have been the safest protection of the imperial power."

The Germans of the Baltic provinces pride themselves on the cultural work which they have been doing among the Esthonian and Lettish peasantry, over which they have been lording for several centuries. However, when the Revolution of 1905 broke out, the peasantry made common cause with the Revolutionists in Russia and, considering the German nobility as having a common cause with the autocracy, they burned and plundered the estates of the German proprietors and committed many atrocities against them. It cannot be denied that from a material standpoint the Germans have been of very great use to the Government and to their Slavic neighbors. The Government has always been aware of the good example set by the German colonists, and in the last two centuries thousands of German villages have sprung up from the western border to the Volga, and even in the Caucasus and in central Siberia. Unfortunately the Germans have shown an utter inability to put themselves on the people's viewpoint, and have blindly executed the behests of the Government, where such obedience meant the strengthening of oppression and reaction. The Government has taken advantage of this readi-

ness to serve its ends, and responsible police offices have preferably been entrusted to men of German origin. The gendarmerie and the prisons reek with German names of their chief officers, and the reactionary ministers of state have very frequently borne German names also. There can be no better proof of the absence of racial feeling in Russia than the immunity which the Germans have enjoyed there, in spite of their consistent leaning against the Russian people, just as the attacks upon the Jews have not been started by the masses, but by the irresponsible Black Hundred, goaded on by the bureaucracy and by the officials of von Plehve's provenience and type.

Possibly the Government will now come to see that the privileged Germans in Russia have, after all, not been so useful for its purposes, as the oppressed and persecuted alien races of Russia. Possibly it will appreciate the greater advantages to be derived from the assimilable Armenians, Finns, Letts, Jews, and so forth, even though they are not apt to lend themselves so readily to the purposes of a reactionary Government. If not, the combined Slavic and non-Slavic Russians will in time overthrow the Government with its unassimilated German minions.

XI

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Russian music has been extensively treated both at home and abroad.

Lineff, E., *The Peasant Songs of Great Russia, as they are in the Folk's Harmonization,* collected and transcribed from phonograms, St. Petersburg 1905.

Montagu-Nathan, M., *A History of Russian Music;* Being an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Russian School of Composers; with a Survey of their Lives and a Description of their Works, London 1914.

Newmarch, Mrs. R., *The Russian Opera,* New York 1914.

Norden, N., *Russian Choruses for Mixed Voices,* with English Texts from the Repertoire of the Æolian Choir, Brooklyn, New York, Boston 1913.

Schindler, K., *A Century of Russian Song from Glinka to Rachmaninoff,* Fifty Songs, New York 1911.

Soubies, A., *Histoire de la musique en Russie,* Paris 1898.

The Russian Church and the Russian sects may best be studied from the following monographs:

Birkbeck, W. J., *Russia and the English Church During the last Fifty Years,* London 1895.

Elkinton, J., *The Doukhobors. Their History in Russia. Their Migration to Canada,* Philadelphia 1903.

Grass, K. K., *Die russischen Sekten,* Leipzig 1907–1914.

Heard, A. F., *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent,* comprising, Orthodoxy, Dissent, and Erratic Sects, New York 1887.

Maude, A., *A Peculiar People. The Doukhobors,* New York 1904.

Palmieri, A., *La Chiesa russa,* Firenze 1908.

Wilbois, *L'avenir de l'église russe,* Paris 1907.

These works tell a great deal about the intellectual condition of the peasants. Further information on special points may be gleaned from special works on the peasants:

Holstein, A. de, and Montefiori, D. B., *Serf Life in Russia,* London 1906.

Hourwich, J. A., *The Economics of the Russian Village,* New York 1892.

Kennard, H. P., *The Russian Peasant,* London 1907.

Stadling, J., and Reason, W., *In the Land of Tolstoi. Experiences of Famine and Misrule in Russia,* New York 1897.

Stepniak, *The Russian Peasant. Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life, and Religion,* London 1888.

The Revolutionary movement has been exhaustively treated in Russia by Burtsev, *Za sto lyet* (*A Hundred Years*), and the Decembrist Revolt has of late received careful consideration by Dovnar-Zapolski, Kotlyarevski and Dmitriev-Mamonov, but these works are entirely unused by foreign investigators. The only book dealing with that period is Baron A. E. Rosen's *Russian Conspirators in Siberia,* London 1872, which gives insufficient information on that important period. For the Revolutionary movements of the latter part of the

nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century the following works will prove of use:

Alexander, A., *Russia from Within,* New York 1905.

Ames, E. O. F., *The Revolution in the Baltic Provinces,* London 1907.

Bourdon, G., *La Russie libre; l'aube russe,* Paris 1905.

Charles, P., *Le parlement russe, son organisation, ses rapports avec l'empereur,* Paris 1909.

Durland, K., *The Red Reign,* New York 1908.

Gottheimer, F., *La charte constitutionelle de l'empire de Russie,* Berlin 1903.

Harper, S. N., *The New Electoral Law for the Russian Duma,* Chicago 1908.

Kovaleski, V. I., *La crise russe; notes et impressions d'un témoin,* Paris 1906.

Milyukov, P. N., *Constitutional Government for Russia* (The Civic Forum), New York 1908.

Nevinson, H. W., *The Dawn in Russia, or Scenes in the Russian Revolution,* London and New York, 1906.

Noble, E., *The Russian Revolt,* Boston 1885.

Pares, B., *Russia and Reform,* London 1907.

Perris, G. H., *Russia in Revolution,* London 1905.

Pollock, *The Russian Bastille,* Chicago 1908.

Prelooker, J., *Russian Flashlights,* London 1911.

Trubetskoy, M., *Out of Chaos; a Personal Story of the Revolution in Russia,* New York 1907.

Ular, A., *Russia from Within,* New York 1905.

Walling, W. E., *Russia's Message, the True World Import of the Revolution,* New York, 1908.

Zilliacus, K., *The Russian Revolutionary Movement,* New York 1905.

The non-Russians have received scant treatment in the

foreign languages. The best statement, though brief, will be found in Melnik's work. On the Germans of Russia the most interesting are the monographs published by the Pan-German Union, because they furnish the indisputable proof that the Germans in Russia still consider themselves aliens and become Russified only in order to serve the autocratic Government. Such works are:

Geiser, A., *Die russische Revolution und das baltische Deutschtum,* No. 25.

Faure, A., *Das Deutschtum in Südrussland und an der Wolga,* No. 26.

Baszler, Th., *Das Deutschtum in Russland,* München 1911.

The Jewish question has been exhaustively studied from a bibliographic standpoint in the monumental *Systematic Guide,* published in Russian in 1893, and in Bershadski's *Archive,* also in Russian. The following works in English deal with its modern aspect:

Alexander, L. A. A., *The Drama of Blood, performed by Russia on the World's Stage in the Light of the Twentieth Century,* New York 1906.

Bernheimer, C. S., *The Russian Jew in the United States,* Philadelphia 1905.

Davitt, H., *Within the Pale. The True Story of Anti-Semitic Persecutions in Russia.*

Errera, L., *The Russian Jews. Extermination or Emancipation,* London 1894.

Rubinow, J. M., *Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia* (report from Bulletin of Bureau of Labor), Washington 1908.

Russo-Jewish Committee, *The Persecution of the Jews in Russia,* London 1890–91.

Urusov, Prince S. D., *Memoirs of a Russian Governor,* London and New York 1908.

Wiener, L., *The History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century,* New York 1899.

Wolf, L., *The Legal Sufferings of the Jews in Russia.* A Survey of their Present Situation, and a Summary of Laws, London 1912.

The above does not pretend to be a complete bibliography of the subject. Those who are interested in aspects of Russian life not touched upon by me in the present book must look to the special catalogues, such as that of the British Museum, for further information. The most helpful general work on the subject is the *Russian Encyclopedia of Brockhaus,* where under the respective titles, especially under Russia, extensive native and foreign bibliographies may be found.

THE END

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21/2